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CONTENTS

3. The Fire at Santiago de Compostela in 1117: A Reconstruction Drawing
by Kenneth John Conant
4. Municipal Politics in 1117: An Explanatory Note
Kenneth John Conant
5. The Ornamental Niche-Pilaster in the Hispanic World
Joseph A. Baird, Jr.
12. Santa Cruz, Antigua, Guatemala, and the Spanish Colonial Architecture
of Central America
Sidney D. Markman
20. Soledad
Elliot A. P. Evans
27. American Notes
Louise Hall
31. Books
32. SAH News

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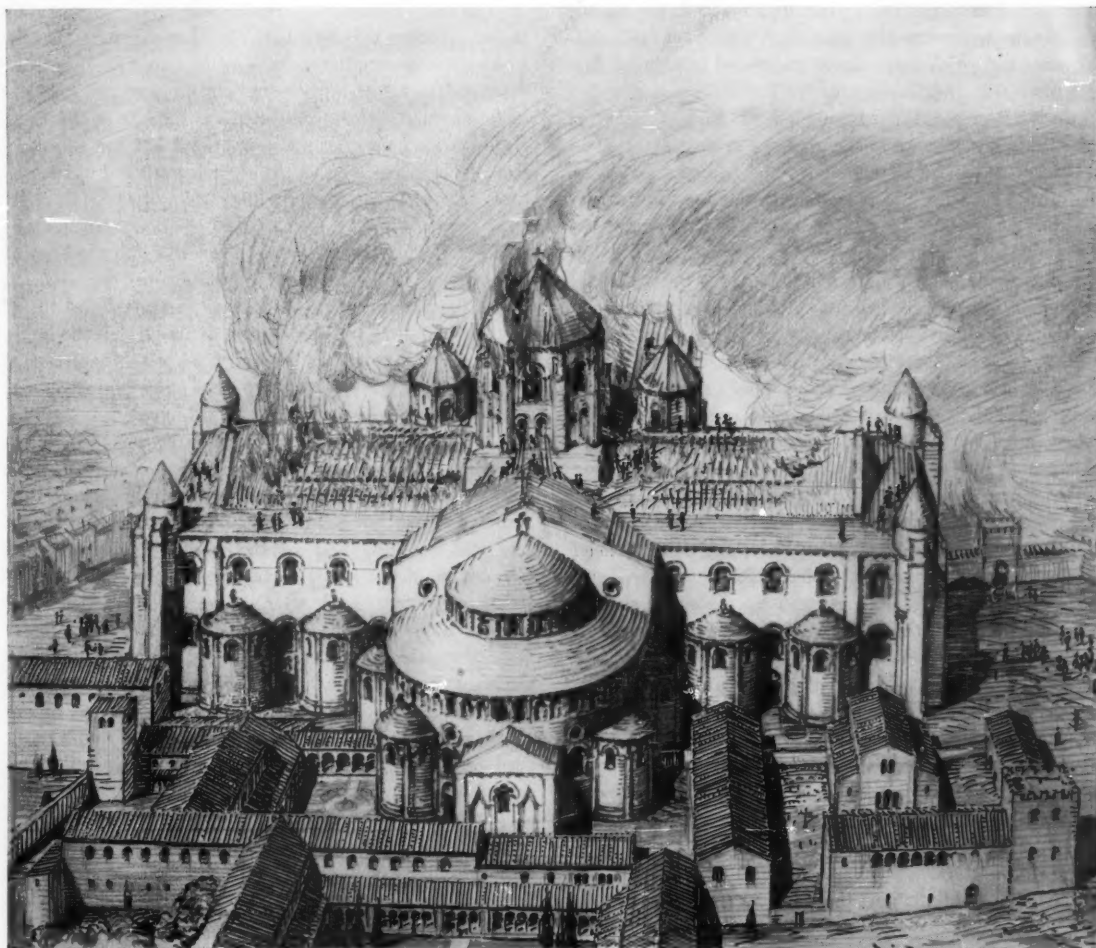
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THE FIRE AT SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA IN 1117: A RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING BY KENNETH JOHN CONANT



Santiago de Compostela. The cathedral from the east as it appeared in 1117. The Romanesque pilgrimage church was designed in the mid-1070's and completed in large part by 1124 or 1128. Construction received a setback in 1117 as described below. Santiago is standing today but the fabric is so overlaid with additions in the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque styles as to be almost unrecognizable from the exterior as a Romanesque building.

KENNETH JOHN CONANT, whose graduate students formed the nucleus of the group that founded the Society of Architectural

Historians, has recently retired from the faculties of architecture and fine arts of Harvard University.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN 1117: AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

KENNETH JOHN CONANT

AT SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA the bishop was lord of the town, and Bishop Diego Gelmírez resisted the town's endeavors to secure the municipal privileges and self-government which many towns succeeded in gaining during the early twelfth century. We know from a gripping eye-witness account commissioned by Bishop Gelmírez himself and preserved in the archives at Santiago that in 1117 he and Queen Urraca of Aragon (daughter of King Alfonso VI of Leon, widow of Raymond of Burgundy, estranged wife of Alfonso I of Aragon) were confronted by a full-scale insurrection of the townspeople. Judging the palace (at the far right of the picture) to be unsafe, they went into the church and ultimately, by way of one of the twin stair-towers near the middle of the picture, to the roof, and thence on up into the crossing tower. This had a vault somewhat above the level of the crown of the vault of the church nave; a bell-cage of wooden framework was carried on this crossing vault, and the belfry stage was roofed with wooden truss-work at the highest level.

This was not a very salutary refuge, for the townsfolk swarmed into the church and up onto the roof. It so happened that the middle part of the church had recently been vaulted. The gallery vaults at each side of the high vault were paved with and strengthened by a sloping surface of stone slabs, but the barrel vaulting in the middle had been made thin and curved on top to minimize weight and thrust. The metal had apparently not yet been collected for the definitive middle roofing of lead to be carried on planks and timber-work. The timbers were there but covered at that time with thatch which the insurgents set afire. *Apostolicae ecclesiae flamma surgit in altum, et circumquaque praebet horrendum spectaculum.* (Flame from the apostolic church surges aloft, and the hideous sight shows all round about.) It then occurred to the insurgents to push flaming timbers through a window into the belfry chamber with the object of roasting the bishop and the queen alive.

The besiegers relented and allowed the queen to come

down, promising safety, but she was knocked down and even mostly stripped by the crowd, whose indignation boiled up when they saw her. They had no mercy for the bishop, but during the outrage to the queen he slipped by disguised in a follower's cloak and managed to gain one of the pointed stair-towers—perhaps the one at the right. He descended through the church and hid for a time in the little church shown in the right foreground of the picture, whence he went to the house of a friend. His other companions in the tower, forced to go when bell-cage and roof caught fire, jumped down feet first into the knot of besiegers, and most of them fought their way through.

But the man-hunt for the bishop continued and he, to save both himself and his hospitable friend, left the house and took refuge in the treasury of the Monastery of Antealtares, which stretches across most of the foreground of the picture. The blood-thirsty crowd invaded Antealtares and flooded threateningly into the cloister. The bishop then abandoned the treasury, running with the crowd as if he were one of them, and going into the little rear cloister near the round chapels at the left he climbed up to the roof and continued by way of the latrina attached to the Canon's residence into that building, which is at the extreme left. From there, after things had quieted a little, he went by the light of a gorgeous full moon to the house of another friend. From that place a small party including the bishop soon left for the edge of town, where the queen's army was encamped. On the way, finding some of the townspeople's sentinels in easy postures, the bishop's party sardonically reproached them for lack of vigilance and passed through without being apprehended. Meanwhile the queen had escaped to the army, and the pair returned to town in force, established the bishop again, and exacted an indemnity. Our knowledge of Santiago Cathedral, coupled with the intensely personal eye-witness report, enables us to give an unusually circumstantial picture and account of one interesting and violent episode in the municipal politics of 1117.

THE ORNAMENTAL NICHE-PILASTER IN THE HISPANIC WORLD

JOSEPH A. BAIRD, JR.

TOWARDS THE END of the 17th century, architectural designs appeared in various parts of Europe, particularly in Germany and Flanders, revealing a trend to develop ornamented niches which was eventually to usurp the architectonic articulation of columns and pilasters on façades and large-scale altarpieces. Discussion of this trend, which was most splendidly imaginative in Spain and Mexico, paralleling developments in Italy and Sicily,¹ is complicated at the outset by the existing terminology for 17th- and 18th-century style phases. Baroque, Rococo, and the irrepressible misnomer, Churrigueresque—all fail to grasp the actualities of this non-architectural movement. The need for a more precise group of words is particularly clear when one tries to use phrases such as Late Baroque or Mannerist Revival, not to mention Ultra Baroque. Certainly, there is much that is derived from Mannerism and from Baroque, but the subtleties of 18th-century design cannot be contained in these terms alone. Especially in Spain and Mexico, 18th-century designers have created works that are unique; unfortunately, there is no unique vocabulary to describe them. The only satisfactory solution seems to be to use existing terms plus a few new ones, and to qualify these terms in reference to photographs.

A convenient point of departure in Italy is the façade of Il Carmine at Lecce (Fig. 1).² Although it is quite different from more or less contemporary work in Rome (such as Sardi's Borrominesque façade for Santa Maria Maddalena), it is basically a version of della Porta's Gesù. The flat surface of this façade, with its slight frontal projection in terms of double pilasters and a powerfully articulated portal and ornamental window above, is closer to the ideals of the 16th century than to those of the 17th century. It reveals that pronounced enthusiasm for 16th-century sources in much of 18th-century European and New World design—an enthusiasm, of course, which had not been lacking in the 17th century but was then expressed in more obviously Baroque terms. The curious combination in Leccese ornament of the vibrantly plastic and of a

prismatic hardness of edge is characteristic of much later 16th-century work, and is often a somewhat unwilling *mariage de convenance* between Renaissance exuberance and Mannerist brittleness. The rustication above the portal of Il Carmine appears at first glance to be a peculiar piece of archaism but is only another instance of the general desire in 18th-century design to animate surfaces with an infinite variety of accents of all types.

The northern Jesuit façade illustrated in Fig. 2 is much more aggressively 17th century than Il Carmine, with its slight degree of salience. Yet in both designs, from a similar source, there is a close consonance of parts, and the development of reduplicated elements and richly ornamented niches is marked in both. The use of the double or shadow pilaster appears with Michelangelo, but its potentialities as an element in the gradual destruction of tectonic vertical elements are not fully realized until the late 17th century. However, on all Italian or Italian-inspired work, there is never the total loss of tectonic integrity which is so important in the Hispanic world, and such a non-classical order as the *estipite*, which rules Spain and Mexico in the 18th century, is exceedingly rare in southern Italy and Sicily.³

South Italian interiors are infinitely less exciting than those of the Hispanic world. In Lecce and the surrounding towns there is a tumescent plaster *décor* which lacks the refulgent splendor of the gilded and polychromatic wood interiors of Sevilla and Mexico City.⁴ The glory of the south lies in its superbly situated façades (often at the head of theatrical staircases) and in its civic ensembles, such as the handsome group of buildings around the cathedral of Lecce or the palaces and church façades which line the streets of Catania or Noto. The one major exception to this general want of interior sumptuousity is in western Sicily, where local polychromatic marbles are used with dazzling effect. Particularly in and around Palermo,⁵ there are almost direct parallels to the use of polychromatic marble decoration in Cordoba and Granada.

One of the earliest and finest of these Sicilian interiors is that of the Cappella del Crocifisso attached to Monreale Cathedral.⁶ The marble colors—orange, black and white—are almost exactly those of southern Spain although indige-

JOSEPH A. BAIRD, JR., is a member of the Department of Philosophy and Fine Arts, University of California, Davis. This article is based on a paper read at the 1955 Annual Meeting of the Society held in New York.

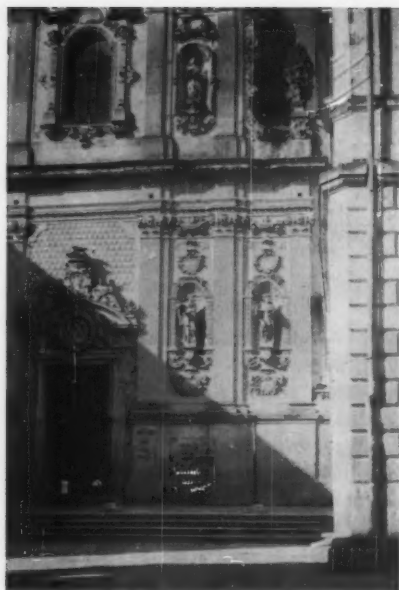


FIG. 1. Lecce, Italy. Il Carmine, 1711 ff., by Cino. (Author)



FIG. 2. Paris, France. St. Paul and Saint Louis, 1627-1641, by Derrand.

nous materials were used in both cases. Stylistically, however, there is a considerable difference; in Sicilian designs there is a greater continuity from Renaissance *tarsie* and in Spain the geometricism of Moorish sources is more pronounced.

In the Cappella del Crocifisso (Fig. 3) there is considerable attention accorded to the ornamental niche. Not only is there a deep niche between reduplicated pilasters, but there are figures on pedestals in front of the side pilasters giving them, too, a *quasi-niche* effect. It is interesting in passing to note how many of the late Baroque decorators employ the convex and concave rhythms of the high Baroque in smaller, more personal ways.

Comparable to the cave-like depth of the Sicilian niches, although of a quite different ornamental persuasion, are the enormous intra-pilaster elements on the façade of San Cayetano at Saragossa (Fig. 4).⁷ The use of the *alfiz* and the notably *Mudéjar*-inspired dado panels place this façade squarely in the Hispanic world, but, as in the case of Il Carmine at Lecce, there is a quiet repetition of reduplicated or shadow pilasters across the front and a voluptuously organic growth of ornament around the intervening niches. The total effect of both façades (seen at greater distances) is late Baroque. The subordinate rhythms of pilasters and niches mount in characteristic 17th-century *tempi* to a climax of mass and silhouette.

All of the preceding examples reveal the trend toward negating the simple power of vertical accents by the use of reduplication and assertively decorated niches. In Spain—

in Andalusia, source of most direct inspiration for the New World—there is one design which is the foundation of most 18th-century developments in non-structurality in the southern Hispanic world. It is the retablo of Santiago by Francisco Hurtado in the cathedral of Granada (Fig. 5).⁸ With one brilliant design Hurtado set the stage for many trends. Major figures on pedestals in pseudo-niches recall the Cappella del Crocifisso, but here the surface modulations are more subtle. The only true niche is that enshrining the Virgin in the upper center; a draped canopy, Rococo umbrellas (cf. Fig. 12), oil paintings, and exquisitely decorated cornices and moldings are the extremes of Hurtado's space. The fashionable *estípites* are relegated to a different role in the composition although they frame the pseudo-niches at either side of the main level; seen from the front they appear merely as part of the general background animation of surfaces.⁹

The retablo of Santiago, with its arresting contractions of space, its contradictions of structure in a lofty niche borne on rearing entablatures without important vertical supports, and its sculpturally conceived accents culminating in frames and cornices that project far beyond the lower parts of the retablo, is behind much of the work of such obvious Hurtado pupils as Pedro Duque Cornejo and a whole school of central Andalusian designers. This retablo and others related to it in the area around Granada help to provide a link between central Andalusia and the work of Sevilla-Cádiz with the New World—primarily in the person of Lorenzo Rodríguez.

The roles of Lorenzo and his older Spanish contemporary, Gerónimo Balbás, have been fairly well explored in Mexico, but in Spain there are still many puzzling questions of documentation and relationship that remain to be studied. Balbás' *Altar de los Reyes*¹⁰ in Mexico City Cathedral is basically Italianate with the Mannerist-inspired *estípite* substituted for the Baroque twisted column of the Barahónes of Sevilla and the Churriguera of Salamanca. Its implications, however, were not realized until the younger Rodríguez created a retable-façade which accorded better with Mexican concepts of surface and space in 18th-century terms, and it was from Hurtado, rather than Balbás, that Rodríguez undoubtedly gained the insight into the solution of this problem with rich manipulation of ornamental parts over a basically plane surface.

Although Rodríguez was born in Guadix (probably in 1704), a town near Granada, it is perhaps useless to speculate exactly how and how many times he may have had a chance to see certain Hurtado designs before leaving central Andalusia for Cádiz and the New World.¹¹ It is quite likely that he left Guadix with the Cayón de la Vegas when Gaspar Cayón went to Cádiz to finish the cathedral there; however, our exact knowledge of Lorenzo's movements and work in Spain is still to be documented. He would certainly have had a chance to study the many crucial works by Hurtado pupils in Granada Cathedral, and to have seen Balbás' work in the area around Sevilla, before he actually collaborated with the older master in Mexico City.

Even in Mexico, Lorenzo remains somewhat of a mystery. His success and his major projects are documented,¹²

but there are many serious gaps in his work and many dubious attributions (notably the façade of San Martín at Tepozotlán, Fig. 8). Of immediate interest for this paper is the *Altar del Perdón* (Fig. 6) in Mexico City Cathedral. Occupying an important position inside the main entrance, and serving today as the center of a sort of parish church within the cathedral, the *Altar del Perdón* is an important link between Hurtado and Rodríguez. The general design is attributed to Balbás, and undoubtedly certain parts reflect his hand. The undistinguished upper part in a lunette is Balbás without inspiration and the *estípites* are of a type which reflect his ideas. The latter are definitely salient but are arranged on a flat surface rather than in the deep, curved space of the great retables by Balbás.

Parts of the lower section of this rather brittle work, however, are more imaginative and reveal the distinct impress of Hurtado's style and his retable of Santiago. In both the Mexican and the Granadine works there are pseudo-niches between the *estípites* with figures on pedestals. The richly framed canvases of the Santiago retable have been reduced in scale on the Mexican work and brought down, as framed medallions, to a position directly above the statues. Particularly convincing is the use of a stepped ornamental outlining (square outlined areas in photographs) which does not appear in Balbás work.¹³ And at the extreme sides of the *Altar del Perdón* there are richly decorated surfaces and moldings that create, not only a direct parallel to Hurtado, but also one of the first important ornamental pilasters in Mexican 18th-century design (rectangular outlined area in the photograph).

A much finer and more consistent example of how Mexi-



FIG. 3. (Left) Monreale, Sicily. Cappella del Crocifisso (detail), 1690-1692, by Fra Giovanni da Monreale. (Cabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome)

FIG. 4. Saragossa, Spain. Façade of San Cayetano, 1678-1683. (Arxiu Mas, Barcelona)



can designers interpreted Spanish sources can be studied in the left transept of the parochial church at Dolores Hidalgo (Fig. 7). Part for part, it is an almost literal copy of the retablo of Santiago, yet the end result is quite different and quite unlike anything in Spain. An important figure in the upper center of the retablo—at Dolores, silhouetted against a window—is borne on pushed-up cornices. Lateral figures in the upper level at Dolores replace the framed canvases of Hurtado's work. The lower center of the retablo is occupied by an image under a canopy. Between the *estípites* are pseudo-niches. But, significantly, at Dolores one sees the developed Mexican ornamental-niche pilaster and not the pseudo-niche with ornamental surroundings. Above the lower statues are additional figures framed in spirals and reduplicated panels, and the whole panoply of the Mexican ornamental vocabulary of the later 18th century gushes out from the tall slender niche-pilaster (rectangular outlined area in the photograph). Lambrequins, prismatic panelling, multiple moldings, down-turned spirals are volubly present.

One major refinement, at Dolores, over Hurtado's design, is the greater development not only of the ornamental niche-pilaster but of the shadow pilaster, particularly in the center of the retablo. I have suggested the phrase "multiple pilasters in echelon" to describe this phenomenon which is of supreme importance in later 18th-century Mexico. Furthermore, at Dolores there is some modification of straight lines and glittering rectilinear panels and pilasters with the delicacy of Rococo ornament. Replacing the basically Renaissance-Baroque vocabulary of Hurtado and Balbás is the Mannerist-Rococo vocabulary of Mexico in the period after 1765. The total effect is strong but febrile—a chattering echoing of parts that is always under control at Dolores.

It would be interesting, but rather too complicated, to discuss here the possible relation of such a so-called provincial design as that in Dolores with the great metropolitan names of the mid-century in Mexico. Isidoro Vicente Balbás, son of Gerónimo, and Lorenzo Rodríguez are both important in the creation of a background out of which such works as this may emerge. In many ways, of course, the more provincial works, especially of north-central Mexico, are finer than those of the capital and the south. However, it is erroneous to speak of provincial and metropolitan in this period, as many of the smaller towns were extraordinarily rich and productive. The Dolores retablo is, indeed, superior to the work of Isidoro Vicente at Taxco and Tepozotlán; in both cases (in the apse and transept at Santa Prisca y San Sebastián at Taxco and in the nave of San Martín at Tepozotlán), Isidoro's work verges on the hectic and the confused. Riot replaces rhythm, and though there is a pyrotechnic virtuosity in parts, the total effect is fussy. However, the façade at Tepozotlán is an important example of the gradual triumph of the

ornamental-niche pilaster (Fig. 8), and it is still beautifully organized in terms of the balance between ornament and sculptural tectonics.¹⁴

The slightly later *argamasa* (composition) retablo at the entrance to the *camarín* in El Carmen at San Luis de Potosí (Fig. 9)¹⁵ reveals the trend to infinite reduplication and the development of the niche-pilaster at its farthest extreme. *Estípites* appear, but they are overwhelmed by the tall ornamental niche-pilasters between them (outlined area on photograph). Appropriately in a molded material, rather than in carved wood or stone, this retablo is the last stage in the evolution of 18th-century Mexican design. The frenzied, staccato repetition of moldings and panels perfectly mirrors the last, but still stentorian, gasp of a trend. The design concepts are based on movement from foreground to background, and vice-versa, and the authority of pilasters or columns as such is entirely gone. The finest example of this phase of 18th-century design in a façade is that of San Cayetano de la Valenciana, above Guanajuato.¹⁶ In all of these latter works there is a feeling for the quality of materials and for color, which cannot be revealed in photographs, and there are no façades or composition retablos elsewhere in the western world that can be compared to them in this fascinating combination of delicacy and power.

At the extreme right in Fig. 9 there is a smaller wooden retablo which is nothing more than an ornamental niche-pilaster alone. Its gradual increase in saliency from bottom to top mirrors central Andalusian principles, and the finest metropolitan examples of this type have today either been destroyed or so reserved (as in the eastern vestibule of the Sagrario) that it is easier to study their form in places like San Luis. However, the capital's answer to this flowering of so-called provincial art comes in the superb principal retablo of La Enseñanza. With its impressively large-scaled ornamental niche-pilaster in the center of the retablo, and the elegantly proportioned layers of parallel panelling and moldings, it is still late 18th century; but there is already something of the rectilinear purity of Neo-Classicism underlying the design, and in a few years columns and pediments, aedicules rather than sculpture, will replace these works.

In north-central Mexico, notably in the area known as the Bajío,¹⁷ there are a number of local works that show the important development of the ornamental niche-pilaster. At San Agustín, in Salamanca (Fig. 10), medallions, shells and spirals are woven into a purely arbitrary ornamental niche-pilaster which lies, like a palimpsest, over the strong rhythms of an interwoven background based on basketry patterns. At the Santa Casa de Loreto, attached to the Oratory of San Felipe Neri at San Miguel Allende (Fig. 11), there is a fitting postscript to the legacy of Hurtado. The general arrangement of parts here is similar to that of the retablo of Santiago by

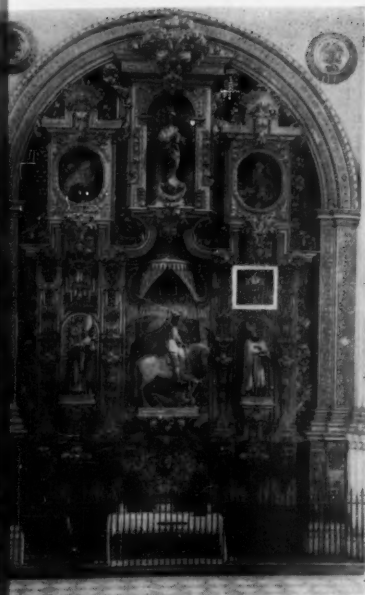


FIG. 5. Granada, Spain. Retable of Santiago, 1707, by Juan de la Torre. (Monumentos Coloniales, Mexico City)



FIG. 6. Mexico City, Mexico. Altar del Perdón, c. 1735-40, by Balbás and Lorenzo Rodríguez. (Monumentos Coloniales, Mexico City)

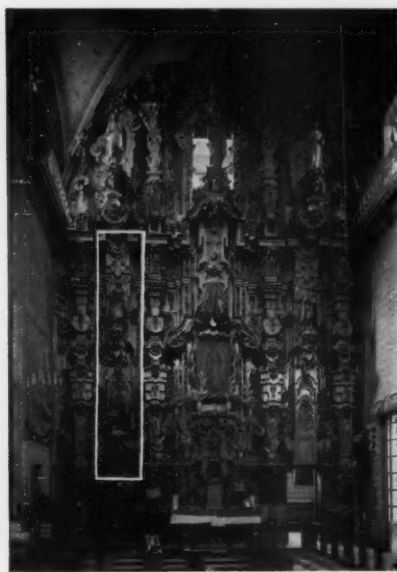


FIG. 7. Dolores Hidalgo, Mexico. Gilded retable in the left transept of the parochial church, c. 1770. (Monumentos Coloniales, Mexico City)

FIG. 8. Tepozotlán, Mexico. Façade of the seminary church of San Martín, 1760-1762. (Author)

FIG. 9. San Luis de Potosí, Mexico. Proscenium-retable in the left transept of El Carmen, c. 1770. (Author)

FIG. 10. Salamanca, Mexico. Detail of the retable of Santa Rita de Casia, c. 1780. (Author)

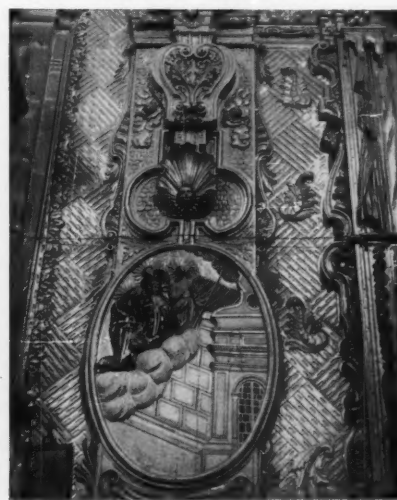




FIG. 11. San Miguel Allende, Mexico. Retable in the Santa Casa de Loreto, San Felipe Neri, c. 1735-40. (Elizabeth Kelemen)

Hurtado; even the strange, Rococo umbrellas over the lateral figures are to be noted. (It is conceivable that both the Spanish and the Mexican designers were influenced by such an ornamental plate as Fig. 12).¹⁸ Replacing the *estípite*, and the subtle modulations of Hurtado is a luxuriant foliation—half Baroque, half Rococo and five-eighths indigenous. There are actually no ornamental niche-pilasters here of the type developed at Dolores or

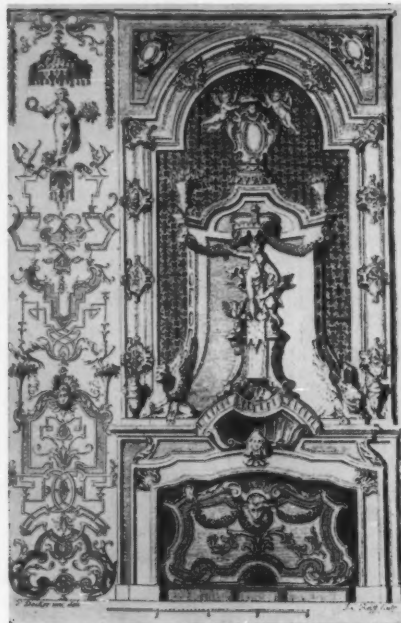


FIG. 12. Ornamental plate from D. Guilmard, *Les Maitres Ornemanistes*. Chimney ensemble by Paul Decker.

San Luis; the composition is rather a piece of decorative theatre, which gracefully begs the serious questions of form and function.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DAVIS

I should like to express my appreciation to George Kubler of Yale and to R. C. Taylor of Granada, Spain, my constant advisor on many important aspects of Andalusian architecture in the 18th century. In organizing this paper for publication I have had to omit many of the illustrations of parallels between Spain and Mexico, but I have added a section of comparative analysis on work in southern Italy and Sicily to suggest something of the often-mentioned relations between Italian and Hispano-American work.

1. Political conditions led to numerous contacts between the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Hispanic world, but there are yet few documented artistic connections in the 18th century. Direct contacts between southern Italy and Sicily and Mexico are improbable. Although there is a striking site and spiritual resemblance between Ragusa in Sicily and San Miguel Allende in Mexico, and between the streets of Martina Franca in Apulia and Ecija in Andalusia, there is little direct relationship in architectural character. The major difficulty about making generalizations for this period is that the exact nature of style varies not only between countries, but also between cities in any given country. Thus, Lecce in Apulia is largely a city of the late Baroque, and most of its buildings date from 1660-1720. Martina Franca, between Lecce and Bari, is a beautiful hill town like Perugia in the north, but its general quality is closer to that of Braga or Viana do Castelo in

northern Portugal. Like those Portuguese towns, Martina is essentially Rococo, with carved grey stone doorways contrasting with white stucco walls. Such a town has a completely different effect from the tawny glow of Lecce. Noto, in Sicily, is basically Neo-Classical in effect, like Celaya in Mexico, but there is no such specific name as that of Tresguerras (for Celaya) to connect with work in Noto.

2. By Giuseppe Cino, executed 1711 ff.; see L. G. de Simone, *Lecce e i suoi monumenti* (Lecce, 1874).

3. The *estípite* is a mannerist column or pilaster of a definite canon of elements from its base and inverted obelisk in the lower section to the blocks and Corinthianesque capital above. Its origins have been disputed; see R. C. Taylor, "Francisco Hurtado," *Art Bulletin*, March 1950, Volume XXXII, No. 1, p. 29, note 37; J. A. Baird, Jr., "The Queretaro Style," *Art Bulletin*, September 1953, Volume XXXV, No. 3, p. 196, note 6; and see Figures 5 to 9 of this article. Victor Manuel Villegas of Toluca, Mexico, is engaged on a comprehensive study of the *estípite* to be published by the University of Mexico press. The only important example of the *estípite*, in a modified form, in Sicily is in the lower center of the façade of San Giorgio at Modica.

4. As in Santa Chiara, Lecce. The twisted column is commonly used on altars. One of the rare examples of polychromatic stucco in eastern Sicily is just inside the entrance and under the choir of Santa Chiara in Noto (dated by an inscription to 1758).

5. In Palermo, the Profesa, San Salvatore, La Concezione, and San Domenico have the best interiors of this type. The marbles come from Segesta and Trapani. Many of the finest works were destroyed or damaged in the Second World War.

6. Commissioned by Giovanni Ruano and executed by marble workers from Palermo and Trapani under the direction of Fra Giovanni da Monreale in 1692. An inscription on the exterior arched passage under the chapel states: "Joannes Ruano Archiepiscopus Montisregalis Sacillum Hoc A Fundamentis Erexit An. 1690." The cupola decoration in marble fell in 1940 but the pieces have been preserved.

7. The façade dates from 1678-1683; see Otto Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (Esslingen: Paul Neff, 1908), pp. 152-153.

8. Designed in 1707 and executed by Juan de la Torre. The *estípites* were substituted for decorated pilasters; cf. Taylor, "Hurtado," p. 36.

9. There is a form of ornamental niche-pilaster between the *estípites*. It is interesting to note that on the Puerta del Perdón of the cathedral of Granada by Diego de Siloé (finished in 1537) there is also a very definite ornamental niche-pilaster, anticipating by two centuries the ideas of Hurtado.

10. The *Altar de los Reyes* (1718-1737) is based on a similar work by Balbás for the Sagrario of Sevilla Cathedral. Justino Fernández of Mexico City will soon publish his study of the *Altar de los Reyes* as Volume II in his current investigation of Mexican esthetics for the University of Mexico Press.

11. There are other designs which enter this tempting area of what Rodríguez might have studied and brought, as idea or influence, to the New World. The retablo of Jesús Nazareno by Marcos Fernández Raya (designer) and Félix Rodríguez and Jose Narváez (executants) was finished in 1722. Its completely non-architectural character is not directly reflected in the documented works of Rodríguez in Mexico City, but it is certainly a prototype for such Mexican works as the *retablo mayor* of La Regina Coeli. It is obvious that there are at the present time not enough distinct personalities known to account for many of the strong connections between Andalusia and Mexico in the later 18th century.

12. See Heinrich Berlin, "Three Master Architects in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVII (1947), 377-381. A monograph on Rodríguez is long overdue.

13. It is paralleled in Galicia in northwestern Spain by a number of similar motifs (Fig. 13).

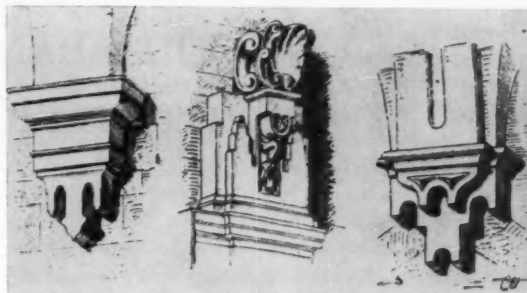


FIG. 13. Detail of ornamental motifs from Santiago and La Coruna, Spain. (Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*, p. 237)

14. The design is usually attributed to Lorenzo Rodríguez (who appears to have worked at Tepozotlán as early as the 1740's); however, there are a number of disparities that suggest a different hand from his. The firm horizontality of Rodríguez' documented retables and façades is modified here, and the delicacy of detail is unlike the usual robustness of Rodríguez.

15. Manuel Toussaint, *Arte Colonial* (Mexico, 1948), p. 303, described the retables as with "las molduras que pliegan tan menudamente, que pudiera llamarse un 'churriguera de alforchitas.'"

16. The façade dates from the reconstruction of the church from 1765 to 1788; the dedication took place on August 6, 1788, and the retables are described in the *Gaceta de Mexico* of that date.

17. In Santa Rosa and Santa Clara, Querétaro, and in San Agustín, Salamanca, Mexico; see Baird, "The Querétaro Style," pp. 198-215.

18. There is close connection in the ensemble at San Miguel and in the section of Decker's plate directly above the mantel; the exotic umbrellas are seen in the upper left of the plate.

SANTA CRUZ, ANTIGUA, GUATEMALA, AND THE SPANISH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE OF CENTRAL AMERICA

SIDNEY D. MARKMAN

FEW BUILDINGS were built in the sixteenth century in Central America and even fewer are preserved today. The reasons are: (1) The scant population, both indigenous and Spanish. (2) The Indians were still being gathered into towns and converted to Christianity. (3) The ephemeral nature of the building materials commonly employed. (4) The lack of trained craftsmen. (5) The ever-recurring earthquakes and subsequent rebuilding, enlarging and altering of ruined structures. It is, therefore, not until the seventeenth century that ecclesiastical and civil structures with formal plans and of durable materials in appreciable numbers begin to appear. A typical example of these is *La Ermita de la Santa Cruz* in Antigua, Guatemala (Fig. 1).

Founded in the early seventeenth century or before, after having gone through several stages of construction the present church was completed and inaugurated in 1731.¹ It was to be destroyed and abandoned about forty years later when the earthquake of 1773 levelled the city of Antigua.² A small and unimportant hermitage when compared to the principal churches and conventual buildings of the dominant religious orders in Central America, Santa Cruz is nevertheless a remarkably fine example of the type of plans and façades common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It reflects, furthermore, typical building practices as well as the economic, social, religious, and political determinants of the colonial architecture of the former Audiencia and Capitanía General de Guatemala, or the present republics of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and the state of Chiapas in Mexico.

1. History

The earliest reference, documentary or literary, to the church or hermitage of Santa Cruz is found in Remesal, a Dominican friar, writing c. 1617. He mentions the *barrio* or neighborhood of Santa Cruz, but has nothing to say about the church under the administration of his order.³

SIDNEY D. MARKMAN is a member of the faculty of fine arts of Duke University. This paper was read at the 1955 Annual Meeting of the Society in New York.

Vásquez, writing in the decades just before and after 1700, lists this building among the various *ermitas* of the *barrios* of Antigua.⁴ Fuentes y Guzmán, c. 1690, also mentions the church, saying it was located right up against a hill (which it is in fact), had pleasant sounding bells in its tower, was vaulted and that in his day the population of the *barrio* numbered thirty-seven *indio* families.⁵ His description of the building does not coincide with the remains of the church, for it has two towers and is only partly vaulted and roofed with wood as well. Furthermore, that an unimportant sparsely populated Indian neighborhood should have a vaulted church is most unusual, since vaulted structures in seventeenth-century Central America are extremely rare, and found only in the most important ecclesiastical establishments.

The vaults of the church of the principal house of the Dominicans located in Antigua were finished in 1666,⁶ approximately 124 years after the order had been first established in Central America early in the sixteenth century.⁷ So important a church as that of the chief *convento* of the Franciscan order, also in Antigua, was still roofed with a wood *artesonado* in 1673, at which time it was undergoing major repairs.⁸ The seventeenth century witnessed great rebuilding and altering activity, since sixteenth-century ecclesiastical and civil buildings had been constructed for the most part of the simplest materials.⁹ Therefore, in the early seventeenth century Santa Cruz could have been hardly more than a thatch hut.

Ximénez, who arrived in Guatemala in 1688 and was writing his chronicle of the Dominican Order in about 1720, relates how one Fray Diego de Rivera who died in 1662 "... aumentó mucho la yglesia del barrio de Santa Cruz é hizo la capilla que la milagrosa ymagen de Ntra. Sra. que allí se venera."¹⁰ His statement is corroborated by a contemporary document, a contract for the completion of the church¹¹ dated February 4, 1662. Apparently a new church was begun after the middle of the century to replace a primitive structure, possibly of adobe or wattle and daub, and building operations were briefly interrupted when Fr. de Rivera died in 1662.

The question that arises is what kind of building was in construction and apparently half completed in 1662. According to Ximénez, de Rivera had built a special chapel and enlarged the church before he died. Because of certain constructional peculiarities, the sacristy (Fig. 2-C) may very likely date before the rest of the building and be identified as the chapel, and by the same token have provided a basis for Fuentes y Guzmán to say the church was vaulted. Furthermore, the contract of 1662 was entered into with a master carpenter, the inference being that since the masonry work, or half the job, had been done, his main task was to enclose the building with a wood roof. If this reasoning be correct, the roofing of the 1662 church was very much like the one inaugurated in 1731, now in ruins: part brick vaults and part a pitched A-shaped wood and tile roof (Fig. 3). The mixture of different materials and methods of construction in the same building, though seemingly incongruous, is not unique here and was common practice elsewhere.¹²

References to Santa Cruz appear during the eighteenth century in various *cabildos* of the *ayuntamiento* of Antigua. In 1727 one José Vásquez, a Dominican Friar, asks permission of the *ayuntamiento* to pipe water from the River Pensativo, about 50 meters to the west, for use in the "construction" of the church.¹³ It is most probable that the church completed soon after 1662 must have suffered some damage in the many earthquakes in the years following, especially the very severe ones of 1689 and 1717.¹⁴ Four years later in 1731 the new church was opened for services.¹⁵ Some further work was done in 1746, and minor repairs made after the earthquake of

1751.¹⁶ The church remained intact until the final destruction and abandonment of Antigua in 1773.¹⁷

II. Plan and Structure

The *barrio* where the church is located, as described by Fuentes y Guzmán,¹⁸ lies in a narrow strip of land just to the east of the city between the left bank of the Pensativo River and a steep hill (Fig. 1). The church *atrio* also served as the local town square. It measures 40.00 m. from the *lonja* steps to an embankment which had been built c. 1742 to keep the river from flooding the whole *barrio*.¹⁹ The width of the *atrio* was no less than 29.00 m. as far as can be determined, for the surrounding area is now occupied by a coffee plantation. A stone cross, now broken in two, once stood on a pedestal in the center of the *atrio*.

The platform or *lonja* just in front of the façade measures 15.00 m. by 6.55 m. (Fig. 2-A). It has three steps, each tread measuring 0.40 m., thus the width at the lowest step may be restored as 17.40 m. The paving is now missing. The south steps are ruinous, while those on the north side are now covered by a wall of later construction which continues a short distance beyond the *lonja* and abuts on the north tower. The masonry courses of the wall and tower are not tied. A small door gives access to the area to the north where a fountain built soon after 1731 is still to be seen.²⁰

The building proper measures 42.00 m. in length and 10.35 m. through the nave. With the addition of the sacristy (Fig. 2-C), the façade as a whole is 19.50 m. wide.

The walling, no better or worse than is common in Antigua, consists of rubble stone laid in thick beds of



FIG. 1. Santa Cruz. Façade. (Author)

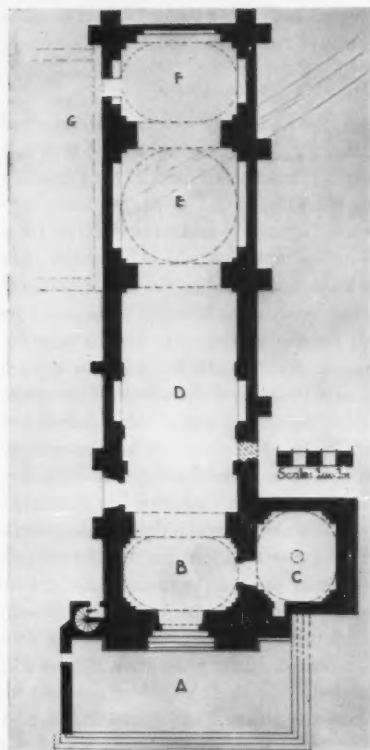


FIG. 2. Santa Cruz. Plan. A. Lonja. B. Coro. C. Sacristy. D. Nave. E. Crossing. F. Sanctuary. G. Priest's house. (Author)

mortar and divided into horizontal bands by two or three courses of thin square brick laid in mortar as thick as the brick itself. These brick stringer or levelling courses are spaced at intervals of about two feet apart up the height of the wall. Except for the one party wall, the other three sacristy walls are much cruder than those of the rest of the church. They are built of larger stones and lack the stringers.

Wall surfaces are covered with various coats of lime and sand plaster, *mezcla*. The last or finishing coat is a hard smooth-troweled lime plaster and is painted.²¹ All architectural ornament, mouldings and even sculptures, are also executed in *mezcla* laid over a brick core, a practice common in all of colonial Central America.

A timber roof, now missing, abutted on the rear of the façade wall and extended over the nave to the crossing (Fig. 3). A cupola on spherical pendentives once surmounted the crossing (Fig. 4). Curious flat ellipsoidal "half watermelon" domes over oblong bays cover the sacristy, the sanctuary and *coro bajo*, the latter ruinous (Fig. 2-C, F, B).²²

False or non-functional ribs criss-cross the under sur-

face of the domes. These ornamental ribs are made by setting one of the square colonial bricks in each course on a forty-five degree angle so that one corner projects from the vault face. This process is repeated in each succeeding course up the vault. The triangular projection thus formed is covered with *mezcla* and modelled into a moulding profile with the resultant appearance of a rib.

The flat ellipsoidal "half watermelon" domes or vaults of the sacristy, sanctuary and *coro bajo* spring directly from the walls (Fig. 5). The supporting arches, except for the elliptical one between nave and *coro bajo* and the half circle arch between crossing and sanctuary (Figs. 3 and 4), are really decorative mouldings in high relief analogous to the false ribs of the vaults.

The exterior buttresses (Fig. 2) are not symmetrically arranged in pairs, nor are they aligned on centers with the interior engaged piers of the crossing. Four similar buttresses line the south wall of the building behind the sacristy, while but three are on the opposite wall. A smaller buttress located between the side nave door and the priest's house rises only about half the height of the wall, and still

FIG. 3. Santa Cruz. Rear of façade wall and *coro*. (Author)



another emerges from the top southwest corner of the priest's house continuing up the total height of the wall.

The purpose of the buttresses is to reinforce the wall, rather than the interior vaults. References both in contemporary literature and archival documents indicate a common practice whereby special *estribos* or *rafas*, piers of brick or stone or both, are added as a measure to strengthen weakened walls, or are built from the first to reinforce walls constructed of rammed earth or adobe.²³

The nave (Fig. 2-D) is approximately 15.00 m. long by 7.80 m. wide. Four unequal bays punctuate each wall. The third pair are in the form of deep round-headed niches probably designed to receive *retablos*. Smaller niches are located immediately above. Square windows are set high up in the wall in each first and fourth bay. A door in the first bay of the north wall gives access to the patio of the priest's house.

The crossing is square in plan (Fig. 2-E). The pendentives and supporting arches of the cupola, still *in situ*, are badly cracked (Fig. 4). The cupola has fallen only recently. A photograph taken about thirty years ago,²⁴ shows it to have been similar to the dome over the crossing of the conventual church of La Merced, Antigua, built between 1761-1767.²⁵ The latter has a drum with windows under the dome which is decorated with non-functional brick and mortar ribs converging on the lantern.

The sanctuary (Fig. 2-F), partially excavated from the hill behind, as described by Fuentes y Guzmán,²⁶ is oblong in plan and roofed with a "half watermelon" dome. An octagonal window, bricked up probably during some alterations in the eighteenth century,²⁷ once pierced the rear wall. Two shallow rectangular niches are located on either side of the window. Below, a rather unusual niche, the top of which describes a low flat arch, rises about 2.50 m. from the floor to the crown. Really a niche within a niche, it reduces the thickness of the wall considerably. Large octagonal windows are set immediately under the

arches of the lateral bays and are uniform with the windows located in the exterior walls of the crossing, pointing thus to the conclusion that the crossing and sanctuary date from the same building operation.

The sacristy is different in some respects from the rest of the building (Fig. 2-C). Interior dimensions are 5.30 m. by 6.25 m. Exterior measurements are: east or rear wall 6.70 m.; south wall 7.85 m.; west wall, abutting on the south tower, 4.50 m. The walling, as described above, is different from the rest of the building. The front and rear walls are about half as thick as the other two. A circular window is centered on the east wall. The octagonal window opposite is centered in conformity only with the shorter exterior west elevation (Fig. 1). It is off center inside and not lined up with the circular rear window. An oculus pierces the crown of the "half watermelon" dome. Decorative pilasters, false high relief arches in the form of mouldings, and false ribs complete the scheme.

A cubicle or closet measuring 1.00 m. by 0.85 m. is located within the depth of the west wall. A crack extends up the wall above where it abuts on the tower, and continues into the haunch of the dome.

The rough walling, the oculus in the dome, the octagonal window off center inside, and the crack between tower and sacristy, all lead to the conclusion that the sacristy and the façade, of which the south tower is an integral part, were not erected in the same building operation.

Little remains of the priest's house which also was partially excavated from the hill. As mentioned above, a buttress rises from the corner of the west wall which once returned in a line parallel to the corresponding south buttress outside the crossing.

III. The Façade

As it rises from the stepped *lonja* and seen from the *atrio*, the façade (Fig. 1) is like a gigantic outdoor *retablo*.²⁸ *Retablo* façades with flanking towers are common

FIG. 4. Santa Cruz. Crossing with pendentives. (Author)



FIG. 5. Santa Cruz. *Coro bajo* and door leading to sacristy. (Author)



in other late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century churches in Antigua and elsewhere.²⁹ Of the two towers which frame the *retablo*, the south is more ornamental than functional and serves to fulfill the needs of symmetry (Figs. 2 and 6). A circular stairway in the other gives access to the *coro alto*. Belfries with small pyramidal roofs shaped like merlons once surmounted the towers.³⁰

The space between the towers is divided into three vertical bays, *calles*, and three horizontal stories, *cuerpos* (Fig. 6).³¹ The third or uppermost horizontal division acts as a *remate* or finial. It consists mainly of a large niche over the central bay with multilinear half pediments on either side which undulate downward and over the lateral bays forming thus a triangular-shaped crest, the pinnacle of which once rose above the merlon-shaped roofs of the towers.

The scheme of three-by-three divisions is typical of many Central American church façades, especially in Antigua and its environs. Exceptions occur in some churches under Dominican administration in Chiapas, Mexico, where a third *cuerpo* or storey is added just under the *remate*, making four horizontal divisions. The Chiapas church façades appear more vertical than the antiguo because of greater height in proportion to width.³²

The door is the focal point in the symmetrical design around which the other elements are balanced (Fig. 1). Its functional character, however, is not obscured, for the sharp outline of the opening is accented as it is set back in a niche of the same shape with the resultant appearance of a door within a door (Fig. 6). This is a common device in Antigua and elsewhere in Guatemala.³³ The door ornament is also more reserved and somewhat crisper than that of the rest of the façade, the surface of which is covered with figures in relief and lacey *ataurique* (Fig. 6).

The large square niche window in the second *cuerpo* immediately above the door lights the *coro alto* (Figs. 1, 3 and 6) and is framed by a moulding patterned like the jewelled chain, *toisón de oro*, of the Hapsburg order of the Golden Fleece. The sides and top of the window as they slant back at an obtuse angle through the thickness of the wall diminish the size of the opening to form a deep picture frame niche. A statue probably once occupied the sill. On either side of the niche window are set low-relief pilasters whose indented or serrated surfaces may be described as short lengths of a moulding comprised of a large concave profile and a smaller rounded fillet, superimposed alternately up the height of the pilaster. Diminutive niches occupy part of the space between the serrated pilasters and the columns of the applied orders of the lateral bays.

The third *cuerpo* of the central bay above is actually part of the *remate* as a whole, and consists primarily of a niche in which a sculptured group representing a cruci-

fixion is still *in situ* (Figs. 1 and 6). A low curved pediment crowns the bay. To either side multilinear half pediments carry the eye to the lower portion of the *remate* over the lateral bays.

Flanking the door and the window above pairs of columns frame the niches in each storey (Fig. 6). The superimposed orders rise from a dado divided into three parts like an order and decorated with simple geometric ornament. The bays are crowned with merlons which as part of the *remate* design are connected with the niche of the third storey central bay by means of the undulating half pediments.

The dado cornice serves as a stylobate for the lower order. The thin plinths are decorated with the *toisón de oro* pattern. The column bases are composed of two major profiles. The element resting directly on the plinth consists of a small torus with a fillet. Directly above is an element S-curved in profile somewhat like a squat or compressed Greek amphora. Its surface is covered with a floral pattern. The shaft consists of three colonettes with a longitudinal moulding, triangular in section, between each. A deep flute, also triangular in section, runs the length of each colonette in marked contrast to the sharp knife-like edge of the moulding projecting between them (Fig. 6). A Tuscan type capital surmounts each of the three colonettes between which diminutive busts of *putti* with arms raised overhead like atlantids support the corners of the thin abacus above.

The entablature of the first *cuerpo* runs across the whole façade and unites the three bays (Fig. 6). A series of corbel-like superimposed mouldings breaks the surface of the architraves. The frieze is a protruding convex band, and is covered with an intricate geometric pattern relieved by *putti* in high relief with sashes suspended across their chests from one shoulder; these figures support the horizontal cornice above. Rather than close the triangle, each half of the raking cornice over the door returns in a large volute. Above the side bays indented pediments with raking cornices fall back to form recesses. The raking cornice, however, continues behind and completes the triangle. Thus the first *cuerpo* side bay pediments are broken in plan only, not in elevation.

The second *cuerpo* is not as high as the first, but follows the same scheme (Figs. 1 and 6). The wall, reduced in thickness here, is set back the depth of the recess formed by the indented pediments below. The finials of the side bays immediately above the second *cuerpo* are part of the *remate* design. Of the two merlons, the center one is higher, while a third inside element is incorporated into the sweep of the undulating line of the multilinear half pediments which frame the third storey central bay.

The twin towers are left relatively plain, the surface broken only by low relief fluted pilasters ending in finials consisting of full front heads. Belfries with pyramidal

shaped roofs, now gone, projected above the side bays, but below the central bay.

Except for the twin towers on either side, the entire surface of the *retablo* façade between is covered with plaster ornament in relief, sometimes called *ataurique*,³⁴ consisting of geometric and botanical patterns and the human figure as well. This type of surface decoration which is really modelling in mortar, *argamasa*, has a spontaneity rarely seen in stone carving. The quality of the Santa Cruz *ataurique* is equal to that of some of the more important ecclesiastical structures: La Merced, El Carmen, San Sebastian, the cathedral in Antigua, and Santo Domingo in San Cristobal las Casas. Beside floral and geometric patterns, and human and animal figures in the repertoire, a common motif is the *toison de oro*. In Santa Cruz it appears on the plinths of the orders, around the niche window over the door, on the archivolt of the outer arch of the doorway, on the soffit of the arch of the door opening itself, on the archivolt of the supporting arch of the cross-

ing facing the nave (Fig. 4), and is repeated inside the building.³⁵

The over all effect of the *ataurique* here is like tapestry weaving, yet the architectural elements are not submerged by it. The superimposed orders, the niches and door and window openings are all left clear and unobstructed. The design of the façade is unified by a scheme based on structural logic and architectonic form.

IV. The Style

What is the architectural style of Santa Cruz, a style typical of colonial Central America?³⁶ Like all Spanish institutions, architectural styles are obviously imported in colonial Central America. One does not necessarily follow the other in the same sequence or progression as in Spain.³⁷ The terminology employed in the classification of European architecture, such as Baroque and Rococo, are actually misleading not only in a chronological sense, but in a socio-historical sense as well.³⁸



FIG. 6. Santa Cruz. Façade with south tower.
(Author)

Conclusions based solely on comparisons with monuments and styles of the Iberian Peninsula may prove confusing and misleading. Archival documents and notices of contemporary writers, the dates and intensity of earthquakes, the history and culture of the region and a direct physical study of the monuments are more valid criteria by means of which terminology independent of the European may be established.³⁹

The sixteenth century, which witnessed the struggle of the hispanization of the native population and the establishment of Spanish institutions in Guatemala and Central America, was hardly an epoch remarkable for extensive

construction activity. It was not until almost a century later that the ferment of the conquest, both spiritual and material, had subsided sufficiently for an accelerated building activity to occur and for a distinctive architectural style to begin to appear. This was the time when the majority of the churches were rebuilt. They had been hurriedly constructed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in a rough and ready manner. The rebuilding was carried out on a formal basis with carefully thought out, though simple, plans and more permanent materials. Santa Cruz is one example of such a renovation.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Where no abbreviation is given the surname of the author is used.

AGG, Archivo General de Gobierno. The colonial archives in Guatemala City, C. A. Document numbers have four parts thus: (1) classification, (2) date, (3) expediente, (4) legajo; for example, A120 (1636) 690-53.

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1. Juarros, I, 148 ff.; Pardo, *ASGH*, XXIII (1948/49), 232; *Efem*, 171.

2. González Bustillo, 94, states that the *arteson* was down, parts of the north and south walls were down, and the house of the priest completely destroyed.

3. Remesal, II, 610 (Bk. XI, Ch. 24). Juarros, I, 148 ff., says it is one of the oldest *ermitas* and existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

4. Vásquez, IV, 385 (Bk. V, tratado II, Ch. 37).

5. Fuentes, I, 403 ff. (Pt. 1, Bk. XVII, Ch. XII).

6. Molina, 117, for a description; see also *AGG*, A120 (1636) 690-69, text in *BAGG*, X, (1945), 101 ff., the contract for "... la obra de cantería del altar mayor de la iglesia de Santo Domingo ..."; *AGG*, A120 (1648) 694-668, text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 102 ff., a contract to complete the *capilla mayor*.

7. Remesal, I, 72 (Bk. II, Ch. III); *ibid.*, I, 157 (Bk. III, Ch. IV); *ibid.*, I, 166 (Bk. III, Ch. VI); González Dávila (I, 143) gives founding date as 1535; *AGG*, A1.18 (1741) 5028-21, "Relación histórica de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, O. P.", text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 104 ff.

8. *AGG*, A1.20 (1673) 476-10, text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 131 ff.

9. There are numerous references in Remesal, Ximénez, Vásquez and others describing the extremely humble character of church and *convento* buildings in the 16th century. Remesal, II, 421 (Bk. XI, Ch. IV), I, 437 ff. (Bk. VI, Ch. IX); Ponce: 439 ff., Quezaltenango; 450 ff., Comalapa; 365, Granada; 398, San Salvador; 421 ff., Ciudad Vieja; 352, Viejo, Nicaragua; 478 ff., San Cristobal las Casas (Ciudad Real); 403, Sonsonate; 434 ff., Zamayac; Ximénez, I, 482 (Bk. II, Ch. 74); Vásquez, IV, 383 (Bk. V, tratado II, Ch. 37).

10. Ximénez, II, 334 (Bk. V, Ch. 13).

11. *Efem*, 71.

12. A few examples cited at random by Fuentes y Guzmán will suffice to show this was a common seventeenth-century practice: II, 197 ff. (Bk. IV, Ch. VIII), church of Asunción Mita, *capilla mayor* vaulted, rest has a wood roof; II, 195 ff. (Bk. IV, Ch. VIII), Chiquimula, only sacristy and *capilla mayor* vaulted; II, 198 (Bk. IV, Ch. VIII), Esquipulas same as Chiquimula; II, 242 (Bk. V, Ch. II), San Cristóbal Acasaguastlán, same too; II, 245 (Bk. V, Ch. III), Zacapa, same.

The conventual church of San Francisco in Antigua in 1673 was partially vaulted and partially roofed with wood, cf. *AGG*, A1.20 (1673) 476-10, text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 131 ff., also Vásquez, IV, 329 ff. (Bk. V, tratado II, Ch. 27). See footnote 8 above.

13. *Efem*, 164, "23 de Septiembre de 1727"; *ibid.*, 165, "29 de Abril de 1728," *ibid.*, 168, "11 de Mayo de 1728."

14. For a description of the city after the 1717 earthquake see Arana, also Ximénez, III, 343 ff. (Bk. VI, Ch. 85 ff.), who refutes many of Arana's statements and gives his own version of the damage.

Other earthquakes are recorded as having occurred in 1689, see *Efem*, 107 ff., in 1702, *ibid.*, 129 ff. For a general description of the many earthquakes from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries see Juarros, I, 161 ff.

15. Cf. footnote 1 above.

16. Pardo, *ASGH*, XXIV (1949), 369, "11 de Enero de 1746"; *ibid.*, 378, *cabildo* dated in April of 1751; cf. also *Efem*, 197, for the *cabildo* in January 1746.

17. Cf. footnote 2 above.

18. Cf. footnote 5 above.

19. The Pensativo still overflows its banks today, especially recently during the rainy season of 1954. The *muralón* was built on petition of the inhabitants of the *barrio*, cf. *Efem*, 193, "22 de Mayo de 1742."

20. *Efem*, 171. The wall probably dates from after 1731 too. The fountain is located directly in line with the façade at a distance of about 10.00 m.

21. Cf. *AGG*, A1.20 (1626) 757, text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 221 ff.

22. These domes or vaults may be described as "half watermelons" set over oblong bays. Pendentives are formed in each corner when four vertical planes cut through the half watermelon where its elliptical plan overlaps the oblong plan of the bay. When viewed in elevation, the elliptical curve of the dome is then a continuation of the pendentive curve. The same principle applies to the *bóveda váida*, the diameter of which is the diagonal of the square bay it covers, and is cut through by four vertical planes where the circular plan of the hemisphere overlaps the square plan. The curves of the spherical pendentives thus formed are indistinguishable from the dome itself which is a continuation of the pendentive curve when viewed in elevation.

Bóvedas váidas over square bays are very common in Antigua, especially in the eighteenth century: viz., Escuela de Cristo, Capitanía, Ayuntamiento, Capuchinas, and others.

The "half watermelon" dome is most commonly found over the *coro bajo* in many churches of Antigua and elsewhere in Central America.

Leopold Arnaud, in conversation, believes this type of dome is supported on squinches rather than pendentives. In the opinion of George Kubler, in correspondence, the term "handkerchief dome" might apply, except that it normally covers a square bay.

23. *Efem*, 154. Conventual church of San Francisco in Antigua. For other instances in Antigua in 1727 and 1736 see *ibid.*, 164, 181.

The church of San Felipe Ecatepec near San Cristóbal Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico, used the same device; also the churches in San Bartolomé Milpas Altas, San Lucas, Sumpango and many others in Guatemala.

24. L. E. Elliot, *Central America*, London, 1924, facing p. 52. The pyramidal shaped roof of the south tower also appears intact.

25. Pardo, *ASGH*, XXV (1951), 147, 165; *ibid.*, XXIV (1949), 377.

26. Cf. footnote 5 above.

27. Cf. footnote 16 above.

28. The main façades of most Antigua churches are arranged or built in imitation of *retablos*.

Façade design in some cases was conceived as a *retablo* from the first, since the *atrio* was the area for processions. Many of the contracts for *retablos* read like descriptions of typical Antigua façades, see for example *AGG*, A1.20 (1690) 695-119, text in *BAGG*, X (1945), 224 ff.

There are cases when *ensambladores* (builders of *retablos*) are also architects; and in one instance even a sculptor.

29. (a) San Cristóbal el Bajo, Antigua.

(b) Santa Ana, Antigua.

(c) San José, Antigua.

(d) San Sebastián, Antigua.

(e) El Carmen, Antigua.

(f) Patzún, Depto. of Chimaltenango.

(g) Santa Isabel, Antigua.

Other examples too numerous to list here show same *retablo* façades flanked by narrow almost pilaster-like towers.

30. Cf. photograph referred to in footnote 24 above.

31. For a discussion of the design cf. footnote 28 above. In some later eighteenth-century examples the third *cuerpo* consists of two horizontal stories and is shaped more like an *espadana*, thus adding to the total height of the façade.

32. For example, the façades of the churches of Amatenango del Valle, San Felipe Ecatepec, Iztapa, Ocozacoatlán, all of which are quite plain, without niches, orders or statuary, but are still divided by means of horizontal mouldings into three *cuerpos* and the *remate*.

The same verticality achieved by means of four horizontal *cuerpos* is seen in some churches in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico.

33. (a) Conventual church of San Francisco, Antigua.

(b) Church of Chiquimula, Depto. of Chiquimula.

(c) The cathedral in Antigua.

(d) Church of La Merced, Antigua.

(e) Church of Santa Ana, Antigua.

(f) Church of San José, Antigua.

(g) San Sebastián, Antigua.

(h) Church of El Carmen, Antigua.

(i) San Cristóbal Totonicapán.

(j) San Pedro Las Huertas.

(k) San José La Arada, Chiquimula.

(l) San Cristóbal el Bajo, Antigua.

All above examples have applied superimposed orders, niches with sculptures modelled in plaster over brick cores, as well as varying amounts of *ataurique* surface decoration on the façades.

34. In general, architectural ornament, including sculpture, is rarely carried out in stone in Central America. The normal material is *mezcla*, sometimes also called *argamasa*, lime and sand mortar with a finish coat of lime plaster which must be worked rapidly before drying out and setting, frequently in the space of a single working day. Cf. footnote 33 above for examples, also footnote 21 above for plastering methods.

35. The *toisón de oro* is a popular motif and appears in many Antigua buildings, especially in the cathedral where it is used as a necking under the capitals of the nave piers.

36. Analogies to Mexico are dangerous as recognized by George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, New Haven, 1948, 281 ff.

37. For a statement see John McAndrew, *Art Bulletin*, XXXII (1950), 160, in a book review; with special reference to the colonial architecture of Mexico.

38. In the case of Mexican architecture see Manuel Toussaint, *Iglesias de México: Vol. VI, La Arquitectura Religiosa en la Nueva España durante el Siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1927, 10.

39. This was proposed by John McAndrew, "The Relationship of Mexican Architecture to Europe: Problems in the Field of Colonial Studies," *Studies in Latin American Art*, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C., 1949, 32, where he says, "The whole post-renaissance field is thoroughly confused. Art historians have accepted no common terminology: churrigueresque, for example, seems to mean all things to all men; many clearly distinguishable styles have never been isolated and have no name at all."

The italics are mine and are meant to emphasize the fact that this statement also applies to the Guatemalan-Central American style.

SOLEDAD

ELLIOT A. P. EVANS

NUESTRA SENORA DE LA SOLEDAD, California's thirteenth mission was founded on 9 October, 1791, at an Indian site known as *Chuttusgelis* in Salinas Valley.¹ Until 1954 it was the only untouched ruin surviving from the original chain of twenty-one missions which reached from San Diego to Sonoma, north of San Francisco Bay.² Despite long neglect, ruinous condition, isolation and a century-long tradition of misfortune, Soledad's disintegrating walls quite often attracted attention from travellers and artists, as well as from persons primarily interested in mission lore.³

Soledad was possibly the first to show the effects of decay as the mission period drew to a close. It was always the least interesting architecturally and it was small. Probably it was the last on which a major reconstruction was undertaken before the 1835 secularization, albeit long neglected thereafter. Soledad has always been included in "Mission Series" pictures and probably more misrepresented than any.

Soledad Mission is located about halfway between the modern towns of Salinas and King City at approximately the mid-point of the rich and long prosperous Salinas Valley, known as the "Nation's Salad Bowl" for its immense production of lettuce. Today the farms surrounding the old Soledad Mission are productive and flourishing, a striking testimonial to Fr. Presidente Lasuen's original fair appraisal of the soil and its possibilities when he chose the mission site in 1789. Soledad's own records of substantial, if not outstanding, spiritual and economic well-being from 1794 to 1824 offer further proof of the plausibility of Soledad as a mission site.⁴

Practically total isolation became Soledad's misfortune only in later years. Originally the main north-south road connecting Monterey Peninsula, at the northwest and Santa Clara Mission at the southern end of San Francisco Bay with San Luis Obispo in the south, passed through Soledad's plaza, and for the first six or seven years of its existence it was the only stopping place on the route. Even after the establishment in 1797 of San Miguel Mission, between Soledad and San Luis Obispo and San Juan Bautista to the northeast, travellers continued to find shelter at Soledad. This onetime importance accounts for the several early descriptions.⁵ However, the railroad builders chose

a route down the east bank of the river opposite the old mission and the modern town developed, naturally, about the railhead and shipping point. U. S. Highway 101 also followed the east bank so Soledad ruins finally remained very much alone.

Although the middle years were satisfactory, Soledad's beginnings were difficult and its final days were sad. The last resident priest at Soledad, Fr. Vincente Francisco Sarria (1828-1835),⁶ suffered particular embarrassment and distress from the anticipated secularization. Flood waters damaged the buildings. Indians drifted away. Looting seems already to have begun. All the missions suffered similarly. Some experienced severe earthquakes in addition, but Soledad, with little to lose, seems to have been especially hard hit.

In these gloomy years, which became even less hopeful after his death in 1835, Fr. Sarria himself was the one element of good fortune Soledad experienced. He was a remarkable man, resolute, even inspired by the difficulties he faced. He struggled against flood damage and dwindling population, against results of inadequacies of his predecessors and hostile Mexican civil authorities. He rebuilt and refurnished the church, reversed, if only temporarily, the downward trend in baptisms, improved the harvests and died before the hated decrees of expropriation could be visited upon Soledad.⁷

In 1830, Alfred Robinson contrasted "the gloomiest, bleakest and most abject looking spot in all California" with its custodian "... a pious old man [who] controls its concerns and pours out to his guest with free hospitality the abundance thereof. His charities, his goodness, and meekness of character are proverbial; and to have known old Padre Seria [*sic*] was a happiness indeed."⁸

Why Soledad failed really to flourish as a mission remains puzzling. The causes for its unpopularity are equally hard to explain in view of present conditions and its always important position and function as a refuge for travellers. Yet its reputation for disagreeableness, poor climate, questionable hospitality, poverty and misfortune were well established before Fr. Sarria arrived and reappeared after his death. Possibly dissatisfactions of the first missionaries initiated the unfavorable reports, which time and subsequent events did nothing to dispel.⁹ The only real natural disadvantage was wind.

A primary oversight was failure to develop a reliable

ELLIOT A. P. EVANS, formerly of the University of California, Santa Barbara, is a director of S.A.H. This paper was read at the 1955 Annual Meeting of the Society in New York.

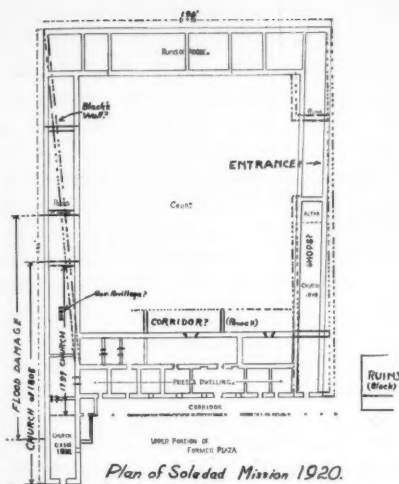


FIG. 1. Mission Soledad. Plan, Frances Rand Smith, 1920. (California Historical Society. Revisions author)

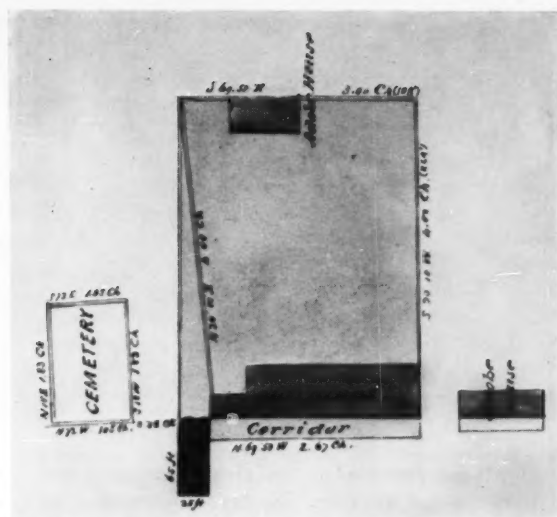


FIG. 2. Mission Soledad. Survey, G. Black, 1854, detail. (The National Archives, Washington)

water supply. A fifteen-mile irrigation system has been mentioned, but it seems likely this was only the arroyo which "... emerges from the sierra on the south to the east of this mission for about four leagues, and ... has facilities for irrigation till the month of June or July when it runs dry. . . ." ¹⁰ Springs in the region were not exploited. ¹¹ Crop statistics seem to reflect this failure. ¹² Water was and still is the key to agricultural success in California. The local Indians appear to have been no less responsive nor helpful than at other missions and were reported naturally generous and hospitable. ¹³ Had such a man as Fr. Sarria been available for starting Soledad perhaps the story would have been different.

It must be remembered that as a site Soledad met all the requirements for an intermediate mission establishment in the experienced estimation of an able administrator. Fr. Lasuen found there, between the river and an arroyo, a good stopping point between already existing missions on the best north-south route. It should be self-sustaining eventually and yet not usurp functions nor draw population away from existing establishments. An Indian population existed nearby. A reasonable eminence for visibility and defense was found as well as good soil and available water. ¹⁴

The plan of Soledad follows a tradition as well established as it was practical and responsive to local variation. Basically, the Franciscan mission plan was a simple walled rectangle facing a plaza or eventual plaza. Included as parts of the main structure were church, residence quarters for the priest and household servants, storage rooms, shops, and shelters for some domestic animals. The front

elevation typically showed an open corridor, arched or supported on posts, a church either left or right as the dominant unit. A bell tower or campanile was usually anticipated if not always completed. At Soledad, the church appears at the left and is modestly unique among California missions in rising no higher than the residence quarters and in being the only church extending forward from the line of the corridor at the left (Fig. 1).

The major axis of the quadrangle runs nearly north and south (Fig. 2). This orientation, it may be supposed, was dictated as a measure against the frequent winds from Monterey Bay. The extension of the church so far beyond the corridor was a further wind protection for the plaza.

The most complete reconstruction plan of Soledad is that prepared by the late Frances Rand Smith, 1918-1920 (Fig. 1). ¹⁵ It is based on visits to the ruins during the previous twenty years, on many photographs and descriptions, and on G. Black's Survey (Fig. 2). Revisions suggested are based on Mrs. Smith's notes as well as her publication, on Black's Survey of 1854, sketches by Henry Miller (c. 1856) (Fig. 3) and H. M. T. Powell (1850) available since Mrs. Smith wrote, as well as the ruins and recent restoration activities. Almost no new documentary material has appeared since Mrs. Smith collected her data, but taken altogether, there is very little material on Soledad building. North and east elevations remain unrecorded. The buildings deteriorated so rapidly that no one seems to have been inspired to describe or photograph the rear, much of which seems to have suffered badly or collapsed by 1854. The Black Survey appears to indicate only buildings then habitable. ¹⁶ Later observers show ruins in these sections.



FIG. 3. Mission Soledad. Drawing, Henry Miller, 1856 (?). (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

When Soledad assumed the final dimensions as recorded in 1854 remains uncertain. The first building was the temporary chapel. Rough temporary living shelters were probably put up at the same time. All were replaced by permanent structures as soon as possible. At most mission establishments three churches were built: (1) the temporary first chapel, (2) a plain permanent church, and (3) the final, larger, often handsome church. This seems to have been the course of development at Soledad also, unless its last church is actually the fourth. Soledad's temporary chapel was replaced by an unpretentious, small and low adobe church in about 1797. This was enlarged and its roof raised to present height in 1805.¹⁷ Possibly the residence quarters had been completed previously, and the church walls and roof brought up to equal height. Whether the rest of the quadrangle was completed so early remains doubtful, but the biggest harvest on record, 1804, must have necessitated enlargement of storage rooms if not the building of new ones.

Little more about the buildings appears until 1824 when the church was repaired and fortified. In 1825 the sacristy was restored and other repairs carried out. These had been necessitated by flood in 1824 (1823?).¹⁸ Since no other reference to defenses is known, this may point to final completion of the quadrangle walls, or possibly to repair only. Why defenses should be specifically mentioned at this time is not known. Bouchard, the pirate, had menaced the coast in 1818, and Soledad was chosen as a safe place for civilians, but remoteness from the coast seems to have been the consideration behind this move. The Indians were not troublesome at Soledad, although there had been some disturbances further south.¹⁹ In 1828, the 1805 church was a second time damaged by floods. At the end of 1832 Fr. Sarria reported the erection of a provisional church. Fr. Englehardt identifies this as the small church whose ruins survived.²⁰

Despite a strong inclination to believe that Fr. Sarria

built the last mission church in California, the possibility of an extensive reconstruction cannot be wholly ignored. Apparently exact alignment of walls of the Sarria church with the north quadrangle wall suggests use of old foundations. Failure of the ridges of church and residence wing roofs to coincide as well as what appear to be remnants of buttresses (?) and an unexplained structure in front of the sacristy suggest incorporation of parts of the 1805-28 structure in the last church.²¹ Fr. Sarria may have been forced to remove tiles from other structures as well as using those from the wreckage. Whatever the case, Fr. Sarria's personal achievement of a usable church was astonishing.

In view of Fr. Sarria's 1832 report, the date 1850 and attribution of the little church to Feliciano Soberanes must be reconsidered.²² No evidence exists indicating building activity after 1832. On the contrary, it is said Soberanes and others began removing tiles and timbers from the mission as early as 1833.²³ After secularization in 1835, decline seems to have been rapid. In 1840 Fr. Rubio, commenting on mission conditions generally, observed, "Some like Soledad . . . are almost as though they had ceased to exist." By 1843 it was considered extinct and was sold by the Mexican civil authorities to Soberanes in 1846.²⁴ The following year a traveller reported the Soledad buildings in ruins, general desolation, a bad reputation for overcharging and for the loss of traveller's horses.²⁵

J. Ross Browne's 1849 description is equally cheerless: . . . about sunset we reached the Mission called Soledad, a collection of miserable ruins of most desolate aspect. I never saw such an awful gloomy place in my life. Not a soul was to be seen about the premises. We had ridden the entire day without meeting a single human being, and you may be sure it was not the most cheering sight to arrive at a deserted Mission. On looking around among the ruins we heard some dogs bark, and soon came to a large dilapidated adobe chapel at the door of which stood two or three men of most forbidding aspect . . . But we were not so badly off as we thought at first. We had a good supper of tortillas, tea and beefsteak, and were very hospitably

and kindly treated by Senor Soberanes the owner of the Mission (or rather ranch) for it has long since been abandoned by the [missionaries].²⁶

In 1850 H. M. T. Powell confirmed Browne's dreary observations: "The Mission is a mere ruin. No attempt at architectural ornament. Looks like a large rancho. Some adobe houses about."²⁷ Powell's sketch from the northwest of 7 April, 1850, shows the Sarria church of 1832 standing. Since no record of destruction or rebuilding appears there seems to be no reason for concluding that the church was built by Soberanes. However, Feliciano Soberanes apparently took steps to repair and preserve the church and residence after Browne's and Powell's visits as Miller²⁸ shows the walls neatly re-plastered and roof tiles in place. Thus, Soberanes' work, even though his title was threatened as early as 1851 and his dispossession effected in 1859,²⁹ arrested and delayed disintegration of these parts of the mission for probably twenty years. Without Soberanes' attention the walls would have vanished well before 1954.

For several reasons it appears that Soledad's permanent churches always occupied one location: the southwest corner of the quadrangle. A very brief acquaintance with the wind problem at Soledad would prompt a forward extension of the church to shield the corridor and plaza. This extension (Fig. 1) matches closely the "12 vara" (34 ft.) enlargement reported by Frs. Ibanez and Jayme in 1805 when the walls were raised higher.³⁰

Concerning the "1808" chapel (Fig. 1) some observations are appropriate. This southeast corner may have been the site of the temporary chapel. A "house chapel" may have been projected for the location. Perhaps a small one did exist there, but of neither is there a record. The 1808 date seems to be either a misprint or misreading of 1805 in the mission archives, an error perpetuated by later com-

mentators.³¹ The notion of two different locations for the Soledad churches depends on the acceptance of the 1850 date and Soberanes as the builder of the last church. Mrs. Smith's identification of an altar in the eastern ruins as late as 1900 seems doubtful. George Wharton James' note of one arch alone remaining at the eastern end of the corridor³² does not establish the existence of a church in that area. The one arch remaining in 1904 is clearly visible in the painting by Edwin Deakin (Fig. 4). This is also opening No. 8 in the corridor wall, and clearly did not open into the area assigned to the "1808" church. The unexplained angle of the eastern wall, not observed by Black, may be an effort to reconcile these differences.

Other plan revisions proposed are: a fifteenth post for the corridor, which seems to be required by the unresolved roof termination (Fig. 3) as well as by the rectangularity shown in Black's map; a wall, 12 to 18 inches wide and 30 to 36 inches high, between posts 2-8 and 9-12 is indicated in Miller's drawing and can be traced in Fig. 5. Location or, indeed, existence of a tower or belfry or campanile is nowhere mentioned. A structure is suggested at the southwest corner of the Sarria church in the Powell sketch, however, and there the original bell was installed in 1954.³³ An entrance to the quadrangle is suggested in the east wall.

Information about the plaza is slight indeed. Miller indicates ruins east and southwest of the mission. J. Ross Browne's suggestion of a random distribution of the adobe structures may be a factual aspect of his sketch (Fig. 6). An additional reference to the southwest ruins occurs in Black's description of the site.³⁴ All early representations show an arroyo no longer identifiable passing through what should normally be a level area for a plaza. This might account for irregularity of building placements. The plaza was probably never much developed, since no town grew up around the mission.



FIG. 4. Mission Soledad. Oil painting, Edwin Deakin, before 1898. (Miss Dorothy Deakin and Los Angeles City and County Museum)



FIG. 5. Mission Soledad. Photograph, c. 1880. (California Historical Society)



FIG. 6. Mission Soledad. Wood engraving after sketch, J. Ross Browne, 1861-62. (*Harper's Magazine*, May 1862)



FIG. 7. Mission Soledad. Chapel interior looking north, photograph, c. 1890. (California Historical Society)

Soledad was in no way remarkable for construction unless it be the unusual lack of height. Walls 30 to 36 inches thick were of sunbaked adobe bricks. The maximum height was only 12-15 feet. Foundations were of local chalk rock in rough sizes. Both exterior and interior walls of the 1832 church and residence wing were coated with stucco or plaster. Whether this protective covering was applied to all the buildings is unknown. Its absence may have hastened disintegration of the quadrangle buildings but many were also early roofless, so no conclusion is possible (Figs. 2, 3, and 6).

Three arches certainly existed in the south corridor wall (Fig. 3). Of others no record remains. Although James mentioned a niche in the church wall,³⁵ no evidence for it exists. Fireplaces were probably arched. The flat arch indicated by Deakin (Fig. 4) may have been a repair as seems to be suggested in Fig. 5. Other openings were sustained by wooden lintels of which three can still be identified (Fig. 8). These, however, are much damaged by weather and insects. Floors were of hard earth or tiles, about 6 by 6 by 1½ inches thick, produced at the mission. These are still being discovered in the ruins and will be used in the restoration.

Roofs were simple. Timbers had to be brought twenty miles or more from the western mountains near San Antonio. Only the church had a semi-trussed roof requiring beams longer than 10-11 feet. The ridge of the residence wing was the center adobe wall carried up to fifteen feet. Evidently the only dressed timbers were lintels, beams, and king-posts of the church, interior beams, and corridor posts in the residence. Boards had been used for the church ceiling but may not have been original. Rafters were peeled poles, probably from the river willows. These were laid together from ridge to the top of the walls, secured by pegs or tied with thongs. A mat of willow wands, with leaves, followed. This was covered by a thick layer of mortar in which the tiles were imbedded. Evidence of this simple construction appears in Fig. 7.

The total absence of architectural ornament is surprising. This degree of austerity is unique among the California missions and unfamiliar in the Spanish colonial tradition. Therefore it seems probable that arches and simple moldings as well as painted decorations on the church walls existed in the 1805 church. It would have been most unusual for the residence quarters to have arches and the church to have none. But, for the last rebuilding in 1832 skilled Indian builders were probably no longer available. The only surviving vestige of decoration is a painted unit from an altar, a formalized five-petalled pomegranate (?) flower in orange, brown and greenish black.³⁶

In spite of Soledad's small size, low and unpretentious buildings or perhaps because of its disappointingly undistinguished architecture, it has been strikingly misrepre-

sented! Only in the length of the residence wing did it exceed a large California ranch house in size and the ruins were unprepossessing. This must be remembered in considering the J. Ross Browne representation and the romantic restoration painted in 1882-83 by Oriana Day and now in the M. H. De Young Museum, San Francisco. Both artists were perfectly able to record the ruins, yet for different reasons each seemed to find difficulty in reconciling what was remembered or seen at Soledad with observations at other missions. San Carlos Borromeo and San Juan Bautista were astonishing buildings even in disrepair and decay, but Soledad in abandonment resembled nothing more than a hopeless farmhouse ruin.

It is not surprising, therefore, that even so notable a realist as J. Ross Browne, having to recollect an illustration for a fanciful tale set at Soledad, but written nearly half a generation after his visit and the events described, was obliged to invent to get a setting equal to his story! His sketch was not intended to report the mission.³⁷ No one who knew Soledad would suppose that was his intention, nor have mistaken his sketch for a "view" of the mission. On the other hand his representation of the buildings scattered about the plaza may be quite accurate and matches his 1849 description. Browne's illustration appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1862. It was inevitably well known and probably the only widely disseminated "view" of Soledad.³⁸

A comparison of Mrs. Day's reconstruction of Soledad with Browne's sketch immediately suggests her consider-



FIG. 8. Mission Soledad. Restoration, photograph, August 1954. (Mrs. R. M. Giannini, Sr.)

able dependence on the earlier. A prominent centrally placed church is common to both, a feature unknown in any California mission and totally without evidence at Soledad. It may be supposed that Mrs. Day also experienced a disappointment at the ruins of California's smallest, plainest mission and drew upon the only available source for inspiration, the Browne illustration.

Restoration undertaken by the Native Daughters of the Golden West results from the intense interest and untiring efforts of Mrs. R. M. Giannini, Sr., devoted co-workers and committees and Harry Downie.³⁹ Groundbreaking ceremonies took place on 25 April, 1954, and by the end of August, 1954, gratifying progress was evident (Fig 8).⁴⁰

1. The name *Soledad* was used as early as 1789 (Fr. Zephyr Engelhardt, *Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad Santa Barbara*, 1929, p. 1). Fr. Presidente Lasuen also records the Indian name *Chuttusgelis* (Engelhardt, *op. cit.* p. 7); as does Frances Rand Smith, "The Mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIII, No. 1 (March 1944), p. 2. For another Indian name, *Wucharo-n*, see A. L. Kroeber, *Hand book of the Indians of California* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Indian Ethnology Bulletin, No. 78), Washington, 1925, p. 465; Spanish interpretation of name in H. E. Bolton (tr. and ed.), *Font's Complete Diary*, Berkeley, 1933, pp. 287-88.

2. Franciscan missions established in California were: San Diego de Alcalá, 16 July, 1769; San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel), 3 June, 1770; San Antonio de Padua, 14 July, 1771; San Gabriel, 8 Sept., 1771; San Luis Obispo, 1 Sept., 1772; San Francisco (Dolores), 28 June, 1776; San Juan Capistrano, 1 Nov., 1776; Santa Clara, 12 Jan., 1777; San Buenaventura (Ventura), 31 March, 1782; Santa Barbara, 4 Dec., 1786; La Purísima Concepción (Lompoc), 8 Dec., 1787; Santa Cruz, 28 Aug., 1791; Soledad, 9 Oct., 1791; San Jose, 11 June, 1797; San Juan Bautista, 24 June, 1797; San Miguel, 25 July, 1797; San Fernando, 8 Sept., 1797; San Luis Rey, 13 June, 1798; San Inés, 17 Sept., 1804; San Rafael, 14 Dec., 1817; and San Francisco Solano (Sonoma), 4 July, 1823; (Fr. Zephyr Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, 4 vols., San Francisco, 1912; also, two important churches at Monterey and Los Angeles, and several assistencias, cf. George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*, New York, 1904, pp. 276, ff.).

3. Mission documentation results from changing interest and attitudes. Four successive periods appear. Each is fairly distinctive

in emphasis and type of record: (1) c. 1769-1835, missionary and government reports, mainly in Spanish, some sketches, the mission archives, foreign visitors' publications: La Pérouse, Vancouver, von Langsdorf, Kotzebue, Beechey, et. al., with illustrations. (2) c. 1825-1865, diaries of traders, travellers, immigrants, exploration and land litigation reports, many by Americans, many sketches, publications, some photos; mission subject, one among many. (3) c. 1860-1915, missions as a special subject: descriptions, inspiration, romance of California and promotion; "Mission Style" architecture and furniture; California Building at Chicago, 1893. Many photographs, and private collections of mission materials; "Mission series" paintings: (a) Edward Vischer, 1865-80, originals in Bancroft Library (issued as photographic series). (b) Henry Chapman Ford, 1881-83, oils, at Riverside Mission Inn, Riverside, Cal.; watercolors, (restored, post 1906), Stanford University Museum; etchings, published New York, 1883, proofs, Bancroft Library, University of California. (c) Edwin Deakin, 1875-99, one series, Miss Dorothy Deakin, owner, at Los Angeles City and County Museum, another privately owned. (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 Mar., 1955, p. E. 3, 2 ills.) (d) Mrs. Oriana Day, 1882-3, De Young Museum, San Francisco (e) William Keith, 1875 ff., seven at Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, others scattered. (f) Chris Jorgensen, 1900, Sonoma Mission State Park. Other later series by A. Harmer of Santa Barbara and Will Sparks. H. C. Ford, *Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California*, New York, 1883; Deakin, *California Missions*, Berkeley, 1899; Charles Franklin Carter, *The Missions of Nueva California, an Historical Sketch*, San Francisco, 1900 (Ills. by author); and George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions*, Boston, 1905, are pioneers in this mood. Hamilton and Suydam, *California Missions, Their Romance and Beauty*, New

York, 1942 (ills. Suydam); and California Mission Trails Association, *California Missions*, Los Angeles, 1947, (ills.) are recent. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vols. I-VII, (Vols. XVIII-XXIV of his 39-vol. *Works*, San Francisco, 1882-90) contain much valuable mission material. (4) c. 1900 present. Repair, restoration, exploration of sites and archives, collection of photos (H. A. B. S.), etc., research and publication, monographs and special studies, scale models and drawings. Reprinting of early books, editing and publishing of old manuscripts, diaries and drawings. To this period belong Mrs. Smith's "Soledad," and Mr. Zephryng Engelhardt's important *Missions and Missionaries* as well as his monographs on individual missions, based on the Mission Archives at Santa Barbara Mission. H. M. T. Powell's *The Santa Fe Trail 1849-1852* . . . ed. D. S. Watson, San Francisco, 1931; Edith Coulter and Eleanor Bancroft (eds.), *Account of a Tour of the California Missions, 1856, The Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller*, San Francisco, 1952, make MS materials available. California's centennial stimulated interest in all aspects of its dramatic history. Many publications resulted. Of particular interest is: Elizabeth Egenhof (ed.), *Fabricas, A Collection of Pictures and Statements on Mineral Materials Used in Buildings in California prior to 1850*, California State Division of Mines, San Francisco, 1952.

Public and private California collections contain much mission material. Most important are The Mission Archives at Santa Barbara Mission. Many missions, historical societies, museums, and libraries maintain collections and files. The Smith Collection at the California Historical Society; The Turrell Collection; Society of California Pioneers. Other important collections are at Bancroft Library, University of California, and California State Library, Sacramento. To custodians of these collections and others the writer wishes to express appreciation for much help and courtesy.

4. Engelhardt, *Soledad*, pp. 81-2.

5. Travellers' reports—Duflot du Mofras, Colton, Robinson, Gomez, Hutton, Browne, Powell, et al., are valuable—but omit many details which would now be welcome.

6. Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 35: 1828; F. R. Smith, "Soledad," p. 7, following Bancroft, *California*, II, 623, asserts 1829.

7. Engelhardt, *Missions*, III, 290, and *Soledad*, pp. 40, 46, 72-4. Bancroft, *California*, III, 689.

8. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California*, etc., New York, 1846, pp. 79-80.

9. H. H. Bancroft, *California*, I, 499; cf. Engelhardt, *Missions*, II, 479-87, and *Soledad*, pp. 9-18, where Fr. Presidente Lasuen's difficult situation over the first missionaries is briefly presented.

10. G. W. James, *Old Missions*, p. 216, mentions report of fifteen-mile aqueduct; this he had not verified. Engelhardt, *Soledad*, pp. 34-35: gives Fr. Uria's statement, "Only an arroyo is serviceable . . ." Colton's reference to a fifteen-mile aqueduct appears to apply to the same arroyo. Rev. Walter Colton, U.S.N., *The Land of Gold, or Three Years in California*, Boston, 1886, p. 445.

11. Paraiso Springs, long a resort, about 4 miles to the southwest, may have been the original hope for reliable water supply, but were not exploited.

12. The ratios between planting and harvest appear to be about 1:12 for a fair year, 1:20 for good years, exceptional year, 1804, 1:45, poorest years, 1800, 1:3, 1802, 1:7, 1830, 1:8, 1831, 1:8, (Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 82).

13. Fr. Antonio Jayme's (at Soledad, 1796-1821) opinion was expressed in his reply of 1813-4: "The virtue observed in the Indians and which dominates, is charity and hospitality. They will give all they have. Whoever reaches their hovels is at once offered the food they possess." To question No. 9, *Interrogatio* of 1812, (Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 25).

14. "Available" water did not mean "at the site." The missionaries were often able irrigation designers. To James, a fifteen mile system did not seem improbable, and H. M. T. Powell accepted the idea of an extensive water system, (*The Santa Fe Trail*, p. 220), as did Colton, note 10, above.

15. Smith, "Soledad," facing p. 11.

16. Black's Survey indicates only one house, north wall. However, ruins of buildings can even yet be identified: north and east

walls, and at north-west corner. Ruins are absent in triangular area indicated behind church. Probably this area was that most seriously damaged by floods.

17. Annual reports of the mission as abstracted in Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 21, Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1898, I, 466; Bancroft, *California*, I, 500.

18. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3.

19. James, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Bancroft, *California*, II, 220 et seq.; Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 25.

20. George Tays, "Mission Nuestra Sonora de la Soledad, Registered Landmark, #233," typed MS, Bancroft Library, p. 20, and Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 35.

21. Tiles were being made as late as 1828 (Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 35), but may not have been made thereafter, note 23.

22. James, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

23. Paul P. Parker, "The Tiles from Mission Soledad," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIII, 348, and Duflot du Mofras' *Travels*, I, 154, 205; Bancroft, *California*, IV, 666.

24. Bancroft, *California*, V, 641, and Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 47.

25. Bancroft, *ibid.*, n. quotes V. P. Gomez, 1847.

26. Letter to Mrs. Browne, dated Monterey, 22 Aug., 1849, in *Muleback to the Convention*, San Francisco, 1950, p. 21.

27. H. M. T. Powell, *Santa Fe Trail*, p. 220.

28. Coulter and Bancroft, *Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller*. Drawing of Soledad is illustrated facing p. 18.

29. Engelhardt, *Soledad*, pp. 48-55.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

31. Bancroft, *California*, II, 153; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, et seq.

32. James, *op. cit.*, 220. Equally improbable is the Richardson statement in Smith, "Soledad," p. 12, since the Sarria church was standing a decade before Richardson's birth. Possibly Richardson's recollections were confused by numerous changes since his boyhood including re-routing of the road. Also, Paul R. Parker to E. Evans, 26 Mar. 1955.

33. Soledad's old bell continued in service at the modern church in Soledad but was reinstalled at the mission in 1954. The bell was cast in Mexico at Ruell's foundry in 1799, with the inscription "Our Lady Most Pure and St. Anthony." Bell and reinstallation: *Salinas Californian*, 11 Nov., 1954, p. 17, ill.

34. Engelhardt, *Soledad*, p. 52.

35. James, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

36. Original, coll. Mrs. C. S. Fackenthal, not located, copy in Smith Papers (Soledad), California Historical Society. Mrs. Smith's article also refers (p. 15) to impost blocks on the corridor posts. These cannot be identified in any known view of the mission. Ford's oil shows a molding around the arch at western end of corridor contrary to evidence of contemporary photographs Fig. 5.

37. J. Ross Browne's reputation for accuracy is attested by his appointment to report the California Constitutional Convention in 1849 at Monterey, *Reports of Debates*, etc., Washington, 1850; by his subsequent important *Resources of the Pacific Slope*, New York, 1869, which remains, in part, definitive. Well known as traveller and story teller, he was also second American Minister to China. Browne's granddaughter, Miss Florence Browne, first called the writer's attention to the several aspects of Browne's literary career and interests. See also Fr. Francis J. Rock, *J. Ross Browne, A Biography*, Washington (Catholic Univ.), 1929.

38. *Harper's Magazine* XXIV, May 1862, 746; J. Ross Browne, *Crusoe's Island: A Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk*, New York, 1864, p. 178; *Harper's Magazine*, CCI, October, 1950, 101; Egenhof, *Fabricas*, p. 78.

39. Mrs. Giannini, formerly Grand President, Native Daughters of the Golden West, is chairman of the Soledad project. Mr. Downie, already well known for restoration of Carmel Mission, is Curator of the Fresno-Monterey Diocese.

40. Dedication of the restoration project was announced and reported in the Fresno-Monterey Diocese and in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland: *San Francisco Examiner*, 13 April, 1954, p. 16 col. 5; *Chronicle*, same date, and *Oakland Tribune*, 13 April, p. 10 cols. 1-5 and ill.

AMERICAN NOTES

CHARLES E. PETERSON, *Editor*
421 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 6

NEW THREAT TO WASHINGTON LANDMARK

The American Institute of Architects' Committee on Preservation of Historic Buildings is much concerned over Bill H. R. 4841 which would raze the fine old Greek Revival Patent Office (now Civil Service Commission) Building to be replaced by a parking garage for the convenience of local stores. Albert Simons, F.A.I.A., of Charleston persuaded Louise Hall, A.I.A., to recount the authorship of its design.

For an earlier article by Miss Hall relating to this building cf. "Mills, Strickland, and Walter: Their Adventures in a World of Science," *Magazine of Art*, XL (1947), 266-71.

THE DESIGN OF THE OLD PATENT OFFICE

By LOUISE HALL, *Duke University*

In April, 1834, the House Committee on Patents asked for estimates on a "fire proof building for the Patent Office."¹

At once Superintendent of Patents John D. Craig made an outspoken suggestion. For his project he wanted a wrought iron roof to be "supported by [cast] iron pillars . . . and . . . iron joists & stays, as in the large fire proof factories now in England"—though he was Irish. The cost of his 120-by-50-foot, three-story project could be kept low, he believed, "unless the business was put into the hands of some speculating Architect."²

Without delay Robert Mills, Architect, proposed that the site on F-Street ridge between 7th and 9th—reserved in 1791 for a pantheon—be dedicated to the purposes of this new "national gallery," as he came to call it. His project, partly of iron, lost its iron the next week when he reduced the dimensions to those of Craig's project, as directed, and coolly recommended "arching all the rooms in brick, the cheapest as well as the most secure from fire, compared with cast iron."³

Nothing came of all this. Charges leveled against the nettlesome Craig's conduct may have been a factor.⁴ Mills—not yet the Patent Office "Clerk" (draftsman) he was to become after Craig's dismissal in 1835—had to be content in 1834 with "an ornamental hydrant of marble" at the Capitol, executed "from a tasty design of Mr. Mills." Efforts of the House Committee on Patents failed. The glamorous project of the day was the Potomac Bridge.⁵

Two years passed. Finally, late on 2 July 1836, both Houses of Congress concurred in appropriations of \$100,000 toward rebuilding the Treasury (gutted in 1833), and \$108,000 toward erecting the Patent Office.⁶ The munificence may be measured by the Congressional Refectory



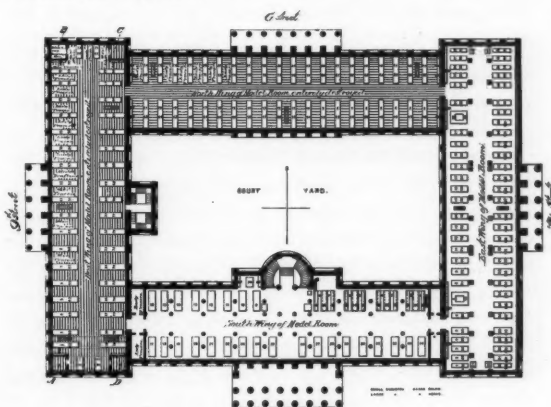
The Old U. S. Patent Office today. (H. H. Saylor)

menu; its prices descended from "Beefsteak, for one, 25 cents."⁷

Jackson approved on the Fourth of July.⁸ But he celebrated Independence by pocketing Congressional letters which informed him that the appropriations were predicated on executive adoption "of the plans submitted, amongst others, by William P[arker] Elliot and Ithiel Town." A rebuffed Senator wrote some years later that Jackson's motive was "supposed then to be party or personal favor."⁹

One would like to know the political stripe of "Wm. P. Elliot, Architect, Civil Engineer, and Patent Agent."¹⁰ His father was English-born William—erstwhile newspaper publisher in New York and Washington (followed by Jonathan), the colleague of William Lambert in determining the meridian of the Capitol, an associate of Dr. Thorn-

The U. S. Patent Office (1836-67). Plan of upper galleries in 1877. (Anonymous engraving from *An Account of the Destruction by Fire of the North and West Halls of the Model Room in the United States Patent Office Building, on the 24th of September, 1877* . . . [Washington, n.p., 1877])



Plan of U.S. Patent Office building—Model Room.

Showing location of classes as arranged before the fire and space occupied by T. Myers, Jr.

ton, and Surveyor of the City since 1832—whose home and observatory stood on Capitol Hill just west of the present Senate Office Building.¹¹

"Wm. P. Elliot" had profited from a five-year pupillage with George Hadfield during construction of that architect's City Hall (now District Court House), and for three years after 1827 had studied abroad, especially in London and Paris.¹² Assailed on his return to Washington for his lack of age and experience—like most young men under thirty—Elliot allied himself for the Treasury and Patent Office projects before 21 June 1836 with his widely respected elder, Ithiel Town of New York—likewise a European traveler in 1829–30, and an occasional visitor to Washington, where his second bridge patent was finally granted in 1835 after a year and more of difficulty.¹³

Elliot had been drawn into acrimonious newspaper debate early in 1835 by Robert Mills, a South Carolinian born, like the President.¹⁴ And it was Patent Office "Clerk" Mills whom Jackson employed in the spring of 1836 to design for his carpenters the façade of his burnt-out Hermitage.¹⁵

Whatever Jackson's motives on Independence Day, 1836, the day afterward he welcomed Mills at a Kitchen Cabinet meeting, unattended by Elliot or Town, and invited him to present a compromise plan for the Treasury to suit powerful Amos Kendall, the Postmaster General. Mills never went back to his clerkship, for on 6 July 1836 the President issued an oft-misquoted Executive Order. Under authority of the Act he designated the duties of the Commissioner of Public Buildings relative to the Treasury and Patent Office, and continued:

I further appoint Robert Mills as Architect to aid in forming the plans, making proper changes therein, from time to time & seeing to the erection of said buildings in substantial conformity to the plans hereby adopted, which are in their general outlines to be, as to the Treasury Building, that plan annexed by said Mills and as to the Patent Office, that annexed by Mr. Elliot.¹⁶

"Mr. Elliot" eventually received \$300 for his designs. His feelings on 12 July 1836 must be imagined from the restrained entry in his diary: "Laid down and marked with pegs the lines of the Patent Office." Pyrrhic victory.¹⁷

Who was the architect? Public confusion arose, for the very meaning of the term was still unsettled in America. Memories of the situation at the Capitol in the 1790's had dimmed. Hard to conceive in 1836—foundation year of the abortive American "Institution" of Architects—was a case outside a partnership wherein the double duty of one professional architect could be divided, as Jackson divided it, between two architects—the designer and the supervisor—each in his own illustrious way the Architect of the Patent Office.

Concealed in this thicket of official preferment, professional affront, and public confusion rests Elliot's design.

From its inception it had embraced a court with four wings, each with a portico of Doric columns commensurate with those the designer is said to have seen in 1827–28 at the Parthenon itself. His convenient arrangements for the interior—changed by Mills—won the praise of Commissioner of Patents Ellsworth, under whose eye Elliot had planned them.¹⁸

The south "Centre"—extending 270 feet along F Street and 70 feet in depth—went up in 1836–40 despite the Panic of '37.¹⁹ By 1848, Mills found advisable the introduction of a note in the new edition of his *Guide* "to explain the merits of authorship respecting the design . . . upon which a question has arisen; the public must judge for themselves in the case from the facts stated," which in his own words were these:

The original design contemplates a very extensive edifice . . . The idea of this plan was presented by Messrs. Town & Elliot, and is that upon which the portion of the building now erected is based . . . the architect (Mr. Mills) charged with . . . execution . . . never having been in possession of the original drawings of Town & Elliot, was compelled to project plans . . . upon the outline, as approved by the Executive . . . since [which time] the drawing . . . of Town & Elliot has been exhibited, and both may now be seen at the Patent Office. The interior arrangement . . . is principally that of Mr. Mills, by which the great exhibition room above was kept *unbroken* by the ascent of the stairs. . . .²⁰

Besides this advantageous and graceful stair-bay in what is now the court—mentioned by an opponent as the "segment of a circle under the north pediment"—Mills might have credited himself also with the first suggestion for the site, and the daring economy of his wafer-thin vaults laid up in the newest quick-setting hydraulic cement.²¹

When the first estimates had been called for back in 1834, a project far smaller than the "Centre" was expected "to answer all the needs of the Department for fifty years."²² But Congress reckoned without the inventiveness of their constituency. Moreover they left uncontrolled the predatory urge for space that soon animated other departments—Interior, for example—to move in with the Patent Office. Even the collections brought home by the U. S. Naval Exploring Expedition were exhibited in this "American Museum of the Arts" after 1842, pending the outcome of the ten-year Congressional debate over acceptance of the Smithsonian bequest.²³

Elliot's four-wing design lay waiting for fulfillment, and again debate centered on appropriations. Of the needed east and west wings—begun in 1849–50 under Mills—the east was finished in 1853 under Thomas U. Walter, Architect of the Capitol Extension, who continued the west through 1851–54. That in turn was completed in 1856, and the north "line" in 1856–67, by Edward Clark—Walter's assistant at the Patent Office after 1851, and in 1865 his successor at the Capitol.²⁴ Construction hardly stopped in

eighteen years unless in 1861-63—notably after Antietam—when the west and north wings were converted into the “Patent Office Hospital.” Before final completion, even, the elegant north “Saloon” became the scene in 1865 of President Lincoln’s second inaugural ball.²⁵

The four wings taken together, though sadly remodeled internally, afford pilgrims to the national capital a composite history of the changes in ante-bellum official architecture throughout the United States. The vaults with hydraulic cement that once covered the south “Centre,” the vaults with iron tie-rods in the east wing, the west and north gallery floors resting on shallow brick vaults sprung between iron I-beams—all these defied the Fire of 1877.

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Abbreviations:

CHSR: Columbia Historical Society, *Records* (Washington, 1898-19).

Cong. (preceded by number, followed by numbered Session): Congress.

DAB: Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. (New York, 1928-44).

DNI: Washington Daily National Intelligencer (cf. below, NI).

Ex. Doc.: Executive Document (as indicated).

Globe: *Congressional Globe*, 46 vols. (Washington, 1834-73).

NA: National Archives, Natural Resources Records Branch, Interior Section, Record Group 42, Records of the Commissioners of Public Buildings and Grounds (incomplete or wanting for the years 1835-36, 1841-50, 1856, and 1860).

NI: Washington [tri-weekly] *National Intelligencer* (cf. above, DNI).

NWR: *Niles' Weekly Register* (and later titles, Baltimore etc., 1811-49).

PCC: Patent Centennial Celebration . . . 1891, *Proceedings and Addresses* . . . (Washington, 1892).

POSJ: Patent Office Society, *Journal* (Washington, 1918-).

Reg.: *Register of Debates in Congress*, 14 vols. (Washington, 1824-37).

Stat. (preceded by volume, followed by page): *The Statutes at Large of the United States* . . . from 1789 . . . (Boston, etc., 1845-19).

Tel.: *The Register of Debates* . . . Reported for the United States Telegraph . . . [23 Cong. 1 sess.], 3 vols. (Washington, 1834).

1. Samuel F. Vinton, M.C. from Ohio and Chairman of the Committee on Patents, to William Noland, Commissioner of Public Buildings (2 Apr. 1834), NA, Letters Received Vol. 28; Noland to Craig (4 Apr. 1834), NA, Letter Book Vol. 8. Vinton will have known Craig as the orator in 1828 whose *Address . . . Citizens* . . . (Cincinnati, 1829) stimulated formation of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, still active today. “Fire proof” construction, promoted by town ordinances since the seventeenth century, had become increasingly a public topic by 1834; Robert Mills, known for his “Fire Proof Offices” (County Record Building) of 1822-27 in Charleston, S.C., seized the chance to extol its merits to tourists from the country in the first edition of his *Guide to the Capitol* . . . (Washington, 1834), p. 10. See also later, Anthony Reintzel, *The Washington Directory* . . . (Washington, 1843), p. 92 n.

2. Craig to Noland, with copy of sketch plans annexed (5 Apr. 1834), and estimate by Robert Brown (9 Apr. 1834), NA, Letter Book Vol. 8. For Craig's Irish birth, his annual salary of \$1,500, and his \$800-per-year “Clerk” (draftsman) Charles Bulfinch (not “Bulfinch”) of Massachusetts, Architect, who had recently com-

pleted the Capitol, see William A. Weaver (comp.), *Register of All Officers* . . . 1833 (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 2.

3. Mills to Noland (9 Apr. 1834), with estimate on the design partly of iron by Richard Holdsworth (14 Apr. 1834) and on the design without iron by Mills himself (15 Apr. 1834), NA, Letter Book Vol. 8. Holdsworth (see note 5), whose “aim [was] by no means to wish to appear in the character of an architect,” later decided to try his own luck by submitting a plan; see Holdsworth to Noland (13 May 1834), NA, Letters Received Vol. 28.

4. Craig was charged with malfeasance by William Parker Elliot of Washington, Architect, and upon his dismissal 31 Jan. 1835 returned to Cincinnati as librarian and lecturer at his Ohio Mechanics' Institute; see on his conduct Louis McLane, Secretary of State (26 May 1834), *Senate Doc.*, 23 Cong. 1 sess., No. 398; defense NI (3 Mar. 1835); career POSJ, XVIII-7 (July 1936), 87 ff, and C. T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* . . . 2 vols. (Chicago, 1904), I, 900 ff.

5. The hydrant project authorized 30 June 1834 (4 Stat. 722) was executed by Holdsworth (see note 3) before 23 Dec. 1834; *House Ex. Doc.*, 23 Cong. 2 sess., No. 35. Mills entered the Patent Office on 7 Feb. 1835, a week after Craig's dismissal, as “Clerk” and served until 5 July 1836 at \$1,000 per year compared with Bulfinch's \$800 in 1833, his autobiographical “Principal Draughtsman” (quoted in H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills* . . . [New York, 1935], p. 165) being a non-existent title. (The writer is obliged to Mr. P. J. Federico of the Patent Office for reporting these facts in a letter dated 3 Sept. 1947.)

6. For final concurrence on the supplementary appropriations Bill, see *Globe*, 24 Cong. 1 sess., 610 (House), 609 (Senate); *Reg.*, 4607 f (House), 1936 (Senate). Passed the same day was “An Act to promote the progress of the useful arts . . .” (5 Stat. 117), establishing the Patent Office and providing for appointment of the first Commissioner, Henry L. Ellsworth, who had been Superintendent since 12 May 1835; see POSJ, I-11 (July 1919), 524 ff.

7. Mills, *Guide* . . . (Washington, 1834), p. 6 n.

8. 5 Stat. 112, esp. 115. Whig fireworks erupted in the newspapers for some time thereafter, but not in celebration.

9. Letters from three Committees, framers of the Bill, to Jackson (4 July 1836) are printed in PCC, pp. 460 f.; see also Senator John Ruggles of Maine to William P. Elliot (27 Feb. 1841), *ibid.*, pp. 462 f. Committee proceedings, from 1 March 1836 on, are painstakingly covered in excerpts from Elliot's diary, *ibid.*, pp. 464-468; the original, extant in the 1890's, has eluded other seekers besides the writer in this century.

10. The full inscription on an undated lithograph reads: “S. View of the New Patent Office/Planned and designed by Wm. P. Elliot, Architect, Civil Engineer, and Patent Agent, Washington City, D. C./On stone by A. De Vaudricourt C. B. Graham's Lithography.” (accessioned 14 Dec. 1945 in the Washingtoniana Room, Public Library of the District of Columbia).

11. For William (1773-1837[?]) and Jonathan (1784-1846) Elliot's newspapers, see Clarence S. Brigham, *History . . . American Newspapers* . . . 2 vols. (Worcester, 1947), I, 673 f., 703 f., 99-100;

II, 1409; and I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* . . . 6 vols. (New York, 1915-28), II, 426; VI, 509. Jonathan is in *DAB*; the relationship assumed from their origin and their succession on the newspapers has yet to be proved.

12. Over "Wm. P. Elliot" in *DNI* (20 Feb. 1835). George Hadfield died 5 Feb. 1826, with his City Hall about two-thirds complete; *DAB*; F. Regis Noel, *The Court-House of the District of Columbia*, 2d ed. (Washington, 1929), pp. 7-42 *passim*. See also for his background that of his devout sister Maria Hadfield Cosway in Helen Duprey Bullock, *My Head and My Heart* . . . (New York, 1945); for his duties at the Capitol, William Elliot, *The Washington Guide* . . . 2d ed. (?) (Washington, 1830), pp. 15-24. Hadfield's pupil was born either in New Jersey or Washington, in 1807 or 1809; the variation lies between *PCC*, p. 469, and his obituary in *DNI* (6 Nov. 1854). The bereft pupil carried abroad a letter of introduction, Mayor R. C. Weightman to — (16 Apr. 1827), printed in *PCC*, p. 460. Married at an unknown date to Mary Ann Maher of Philadelphia, Elliot left several surviving children at his death on 3 Nov. 1854, when he was buried from St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church of which James Hoban had been a communicant. He mentioned, but did not identify, other works he had designed.

13. On Elliot's age, *PCC*, p. 466; and his gratitude to Town, *ibid.*, pp. 461 f. An estimate for the Treasury building from "Messrs. Town and Elliot, Architects" to the Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings (21 June 1836), is in *House Ex. Doc.*, 24 Cong. 1 sess., No. 285. For Town's route from London to the Continent, see Edward Lind Morse (ed.), *Samuel F. B. Morse* . . . 2 vols. (Boston, 1914), I, 309 ff. The patents of Town and many other architects and master-artificers can be dated by Edmund Burke (comp.), *List of Patents . . . from 1790 . . .* (Washington, 1847); for Town's, pp. 191 f.

14. *DNI* (13, 16, 20, and 25 Feb. 1835). In the heat of controversy Elliot accused Mills of plagiarizing the "plan for enlarging the Capitol Square on the West . . . submitted by Messrs. Town & Davis, Architects of New York, more than three years ago [i.e., 1831? or 2?]" (20 Feb. 1835).

The charge echoed remarks by B. Henry Latrobe about his former pupil, Mills, in a letter to Maximilien Godefroy (Pittsburgh, 10 Oct. 1814), in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 209. Mills, American-born and untraveled and hyperconscious of both facts, had sought Government patronage early and late; e.g., Mills to the Board of Commissioners of Public Buildings (15 Mar. 1815), NA, Bundle "Applications . . . 1792-1815." See also his efforts through South Carolinian Joel R. Poinsett and others, in Bess Glenn and A. S. Salley (eds.), *Some Letters of Robert Mills* . . . (Columbia, 1938), *passim*, esp. pp. 13-15, his letter to President Jackson (15 Aug. 1829) presenting his *Atlas of . . . South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1826) as a follow-up to his gift in 1827 of the Lancaster District sheet showing General Jackson's birthplace in the Waxhaw; Jackson's acknowledgment of the latter (8 July 1827) is printed in full in John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1926-35), III, 371.

15. That Robert Mills had something to do with the Hermitage in Nashville, Tenn., Talbot Hamlin's keen eye perceived; see his *Greek Revival Architecture* . . . (New York, 1944), p. 239. His surmise seems to be confirmed by Elliot's diary entry (5 July 1836) that Mills "had been recently employed by General Jackson to make drawings for the Hermitage"; see *PCC*, p. 465. Careful study of the contract for \$3,950.00 with the carpenters for the rebuilding, Joseph Rieff (pronounced "Rife") and William C. Hume (1 Jan. 1835), and of subsequent reports and bills, indicates that the "change of Plan," with work on the wings and "the full length two story Porch added," occurred in late spring, 1836, and increased the cost by at least \$1,175.00; see Bassett, *op. cit.*, V, 295, 296, 298, 315-317, 322, 323, 362n, 399, 414, 415.

16. The sequence of events is substantiated by *PCC*, pp. 464 ff.; for a variant copy of the Order, p. 461. The crucial words of the President's adoption of Elliot's plan are unhappily omitted in Gallagher, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69. The present writer is grateful to Mrs.

Ruth K. Nuernberger of Washington for having located an official copy of the Order, misfiled with a November item, in NA, Letters Received Vol. 28. Elliot's early sketches were extant in the 1890's; and as late as 1851, he was appointed to a board of arbitration on work done at the Patent Office "because being the designer of the Building, the work would be easy to him"; see William Easby, Commissioner of Public Buildings, to Thomas U. Walter and William Wilson (25 Nov. 1851), NA, Letter Book Vol. 10.

17. For payment (14 Apr. 1837) for "drawings of the Treasury building and Patent Office," in a report of 1838, see *House Ex. Doc.*, 25 Cong. 2 sess., No. 458; diary entry in *PCC*, p. 467.

18. The story of Elliot's standing before the Parthenon in 1827-28, with a circumstantial remark on the physical condition of the marble, is attributed to him in *PCC*, pp. 456 f.; but he failed to mention it in the description of his training (see note 12). For Ellsworth to Elliot (14 Dec. 1840), see *PCC*, p. 463.

19. For commencement of the building, see advertisements for materials, *DNI* (14 July 1836), and stone masons, *The Globe* (27 July 1836); activity, *ibid.* (1 Aug. 1836); accomplishment in the five months before fire destroyed nearly half-a-century's Patent Office records in the old "Blodget's Hotel" quarters on 15 Dec. 1836, *NWR*, LI (17 Dec. 1836) and *House Ex. Doc.*, 24 Cong. 2 sess., Nos. 10 and 36.

Documentation on the "Blodget's Hotel" quarters of the Patent Office, which burned five months after construction began on the present building, will appear in our member Doris E. King's "Hotel Entrepreneurs and Promoters, 1793-1860," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History* (Spring 1956).

Public documents too voluminous for citation cover the building period, e.g.: *House Ex. Doc.*, 25 Cong. 2 sess., Nos. 28, 352, 439, and 737.

20. Mills, *Guide to the Capitol and National Executive Offices* (Washington, 1848), pp. 65-68; the question of authorship is believed not to have been raised in his earlier editions, and no longer appeared in his edition of 1854. A decade earlier, the drawings had been "exhibited in the Hall of Representatives, during all the last [25 Cong. 1] session"; Mills to Noland (28 Sept. 1837), NA, Letter Book Vol. 8. The present writer's unavailing search for the drawings of Elliot and Mills was generously aided in 1947 by Mr. P. J. Federico of the Patent Office, and Mr. J. O. Rasband of the Public Buildings Administration.

21. Senator Ruggles thought it very questionable that the stairway constituted an improvement; *PCC*, p. 462. For the site, see note 3. The saga of hydraulic cement was repeatedly sung by Mills, with praise for its several advantageous properties; e.g., *House Ex. Doc.*, 25 Cong. 2 sess., No. 28; 25 Cong. 3 sess., No. 20; 26 Cong. 1 sess., No. 32.

22. See notes 1, 2, and 3.

23. The Department of the Interior, established in 1849, set up for business in the building of the hoary old Patent Office, the "Constitutional Bureau" of 1790 which passed from the Department of State to Interior in 1849, and to Commerce in 1925.

24. Inasmuch as sources for the controversial building period, 1836-40, have been demonstrated, it is thought sufficient to note here that the data have been sifted from NA records and from the public documents; the latter can be exhumed for any purpose by way of Ben: Perley Poore (comp.), *Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications . . . 1774-1881* (Washington, 1885). By 1867 the "72 . . . large and well ventilated rooms" had been chopped up into 252, a calamity from which the interior has never recovered; the exterior in 1867 was believed to be "a standing monument to the architectural talent and mechanical ability of the country" in that day, which it still is; see *PCC*, pp. 469 f.

25. *CHSR*, XL-XLI (1940), 23; but this source omits mention of the important role at the Patent Office of Thomas Ustick Walter (not "Walters").

26. The Fire of 1877, like the Fire of 1836, became the subject of lengthy investigations and reports, but those of 1877 could be illustrated.

BOOKS

Paul F. Norton, *Editor*

The Pennsylvania State University

Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955), 233 pp., 192 plates. \$8.50.

The volumes in the *Pelican History of Art* seem to fall into one of two categories, either they are limited to the consideration of one or two arts in a relatively narrow range of time and place, or like the present work, they are comprehensive both in regard to the arts included and to the area and period treated. The chronological limits of this volume cover more than three milleniums (c. 3500-300 B.C.) and the geographical limits stretch from the Aegean Sea to eastern boundaries of Iran and from the Caucasus to the borders of Egypt and to the Persian Gulf. Within this area, not one but several related but distinct civilizations flourished and declined in this long period of time. It is perhaps the greatest achievement of the author that he has been able to present a unified and readable account of the development of art within these limits. To the knowledge of the reviewer, it is the first time that such a work has appeared in English. The author, Professor Henri Frankfort, who died suddenly a few months before the publication of this volume, was one of the leading scholars in the field of oriental studies, and had been long associated with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. At the time of his death he was director of the Warburg Institute of the University of London.

For the purposes of this volume, the author has divided the material geographically into two parts. The first half of the book is given to the arts in Mesopotamia, which here includes the area from the lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley to Assyria. This section ends chronologically with the Neo-Babylonian Period. This is a relatively compact region and the successive phases of artistic development are closely integrated as Professor Frankfort convincingly illustrates. The second half of the volume is devoted to what he calls "The Peripheral Regions." Here there is little geographical unity between the successive sections and not all of them are equally close culturally to the Mesopotamian development. Some of these peripheral areas such as Syria or Persia have almost, if not certainly, as old a history as Mesopotamia, while others like the Hittite Empire in Anatolia are considerably later. While this bi-partite division of the book makes a very effective treatment of the Mesopotamia section, in the second half it presents more difficulties for the reader because of the interrupted chronology.

The presentation of a general picture of the total artistic production of the Ancient Orient is made particularly difficult by the peculiarities of survival. Only for a few periods do we have really representative works in the several arts. Painting, except for ceramic decoration, is almost completely unknown; the only illustrations of wall painting presented are from the Assyrian Period. For some periods, such as Pre-Achaemenian Persia, it is chiefly the applied arts that survive, while for others such as the Neo-Babylonian, it is chiefly architecture. It is a great tribute to the scholarship and discrimination of the author that he has been able to give us such a good idea of the general character from such fragmentary survivals. But without adequate examples there remains always some uncertainty about the period, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Assyrian section of the book is one of the most interesting parts, for here there are varied and extensive examples. It is to be noted that 48 plates out of 192 (exactly a quarter of the total) are given to Assyrian Art. There are, in addition, 18 text figures (out of 117) in this section.

Throughout the book, sculpture, whether on a small scale of seals or the large scale of architectural reliefs, receives the most thorough study. After sculpture, architecture receives the most extensive treatment. The origin and development of early Mesopotamian temple types are treated in detail. The problem of the *bit hilani* is very thoroughly considered and its origin convincingly

located in North Syria. Although architecture is well covered in certain chapters, as the Assyrian, there are others, such as the Neo-Babylonian, in which it receives less emphasis than it seems to deserve, at least to an architectural historian. It may well be that it has received here all the attention that can be given in a general history of art, and if that is the case, perhaps there is still the need for a volume devoted entirely to the architecture of the ancient Orient. In this book the author tends to limit the consideration of architecture to monumental buildings, temples and palaces, with only a few references to the houses or general character of the towns and cities. The architectural historian would like to know more about the construction and particularly about the use of the vault and dome which have long been associated with this region. It may be argued that evidence for these aspects of architecture is lacking, but there are indications that this limitation was a deliberate choice on the part of the author. There are also numerous representations of buildings in sculpture, a number reproduced here, which might well be used as the basis for further interpretation.

In one particular, this volume is especially welcome to the architectural historian. This is the number and excellence of the plans reproduced. There are also some very good reconstructions, i.e., Plate 12, The Temple Oval at Khafaje, Plates 78 and 79, Khorsabad. These are so good that one wishes there had been more of them. While the expert archaeologist may be able to visualize the structures from very fragmentary evidence, reconstructions based on such evidence are most important for the student and general reader. Some general views of the landscape setting, particularly aerial views, would have been helpful. The splendid aerial photographs of Achaemenian sites, published in E. F. Schmidt's *Persepolis I* (Chicago, 1933), are an indication of the assistance this sort of view can be in the understanding of a group of buildings. Some of the Assyrian sites and the Hittite capital, Boghazkeuy, would surely be more clearly understandable if we had aerial photographs of them.

A minor but irritating aspect in the make-up of the book may be noted in the hope that further volumes in this series might eliminate it. The size of the works of art reproduced cannot easily be sensed from the photographs, and while the dimensions are given in the List of Plates in the front of the volume, it would be much more convenient if this information were included on the plate itself. It would also be a convenience to have the present location of objects, if not on the original site, on the plate rather than in the List of Plates as it is. There are several errors in reference to the illustrations, where the wrong plate number is given in the text, which should be corrected in later editions.

On the whole, this volume presents a most useful survey of the arts in this important area of the Ancient World, written with discernment and taste. The author's detailed and comprehensive knowledge of the civilizations of the ancient Near East is evident throughout. It is a pioneer work, bringing together the results of many specialized studies, some by the author himself; it maintains a standard unlikely to be rivaled in the near future.

M. D. ROSS
University of Oregon

Oscar Broneer, *Corinth; Volume I, Part IV: The South Stoa and Its Roman Successors* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1954), 167 pp., 67 figs., 54 pl., 22 plans. \$15.00.

When Corinth became the capital of united Greece after the victory of Philip of Macedon at Chaironeia in 338 B.C., suitable housing had to be provided for the delegates of the forcibly formed Panhellenic League and for distinguished visitors who came to Corinth. An immense stoa was constructed for this purpose at the southern end of the Agora in an area that had apparently been a crowded residential district. The clearance project for this work greatly extended the southern part of the Agora, and the construction of the South Stoa with its monumental Doric façade served to separate the civic buildings and the temples from the residential

district that probably spread out on the slopes of Acrocorinth. This building program was part of a new city planning indicative of the political reorientation of Corinth.

The South Stoa was a unique structure when built. It was one of the largest secular buildings in Greece, covering an area of about an acre, with an east-west length of 165 meters and a width of 25 meters. The northern portion of the Stoa consisted of a double colonnade with a Doric façade of 71 columns and an inner medial row of 34 Ionic columns. Behind this was a two-story structure housing 33 taverns on the first floor and a comparable suite of bedrooms on the second. Each tavern had a front room, and in all except two there was a well to serve as a wine cooler; each had a rear kitchen-storage room with a south door. At a somewhat later time just outside each of the rear doors a small latrine was conveniently constructed over a great drain that could occasionally be flushed by water channelled through the rock. Identification of the series of shops as taverns where food, drink, and entertainment might be procured is based on the debris found at the bottom of the wells—some clay kitchen ware, wine jars that were cooled by suspending them in the wells, mixing bowls, large quantities of drinking vessels, bits of marble gaming tables, well-used knuckle bones and counters, and fragments of bone and ivory flutes. The wells were connected to channels which brought water from the fountain of Peirene. Wooden stairways in the two end shops of the Stoa gave access to the second floor, where each bedroom had a small antechamber, presumably for servants.

The façade of the Stoa appears to have been little damaged when the Romans sacked Corinth in 146 B.C. After Julius Caesar ordered the city rebuilt in 44 B.C. many of the Stoa shops were replaced by larger rooms, some of which are thought to have housed public offices. In one, judging from its mosaic floor, the Agonothetes, the chief official of the Isthmian games, had his headquarters. A beautiful Fountain House and an elliptical Bouluteron or Council House were in two others. A road leading to the eastern harbor was cut through the mid-part of the Stoa. These alterations occurred before the end of the first century after Christ. By the end of the next century a large public room with an elaborate marble flooring and an adjoining extensive latrine, perhaps associated with a gymnasium that may lie in an as yet unexcavated area to the south, were constructed in the western part of the Stoa. The building as a whole remained intact until the time of the Herulian invasion in A.D. 267, when the façade was in part destroyed after six hundred years of service, and fire gutted the Bouluteron and the adjoining rooms. A meter and a half of debris accumulated during the ensuing years of neglect. About A.D. 300 a small Roman bath with the usual complex of rooms and furnaces was constructed next to the latrine and remained in use or at least not completely in ruins for the next two hundred years.

Reconstruction of the South Stoa is based on the archaeological evidence obtained by Broneer and his able colleagues during their meticulous excavation and study of the site. The building was constructed of soft porous stone faced with stucco, and although almost none of the superstructure was found in place (one column drum remained in its original position), analysis of the foundation blocks and careful evaluation of the cutting marks found on stones of assignable position have resulted in a convincing restoration. The many painted terra cotta roof tiles that were retrieved from the shop wells where they had been thrown at the time of the Roman rebuilding have made it possible to reconstruct a portion of the roof. Cuttings in architrave, frieze and cornice blocks have shown how the roof beams were erected. The channels for the water supply and for the drainage systems of the South Stoa have been traced far more successfully than in most buildings of the period and further attest the engineering skill of the Greeks.

Architectural and ceramic evidence established the date of construction. Both datable pottery from deposits that became sealed when the Stoa was built and the earliest pottery found at the bottom of the tavern wells were produced in the second half of the

fourth century B.C. The techniques used in the construction of the walls, the hook type clamps, and the painted roof terra cottas all agree with those of Greek buildings of known date during this period. The profiles of the moldings from several parts of the building were dated by Lucy T. Shoe to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. Thus the Stoa must have been built while Corinth was the capital of the Isthmian League under the rule of Philip and of Alexander the Great. The treatment of marble floor decorations and the presence of coins help to date the rooms of the Roman period.

The Greek Stoa has been described in great detail, but Broneer was forced to limit his study of the Roman reconstructions. The concentrated excavation of the Stoa site began in 1946 and continued with some interruptions through the field season of 1950. The work of the three architects connected with the project at various times—Leicester B. Holland, George V. Peschke, and Piet de Jong—has been an essential factor in the successful presentation of the report. An elevation of the Roman rooms relating them to their predecessors would have been a desirable addition.

Broneer writes in a persuasive clear manner. The plans and figures and the sharp photographs selected to illustrate particular points are well integrated with the text through imaginative editing.

The position of the South Stoa of Corinth in the development of Greek architecture is well stated by Broneer, who says, "In its architectural design and refinements and in the meticulous care with which it was constructed the South Stoa is one of the finest examples of classical Greek architecture, comparing favorably with the best of the secular buildings from the Periclean era in Athens."

The ability of the staff members of the American School at Athens to reconstruct the architectural, social, and political history of the areas they have excavated in Corinth and in the Agora of ancient Athens from the exhaustive study of very fragmentary remains has been amply demonstrated in many monographs. The present volume adds further luster to this series.

FREDERICK R. MATSON

The Pennsylvania State University

SAH NEWS

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians was held jointly with the College Art Association at Pittsburgh on January 26–29, 1956.

Detroit was chosen as the place for the 1957 meeting.

Daniel M. C. Hopping, Chairman of the August Tour Committee, announced that the annual August field trip for 1956 will be held on the weekend of August 18–19 in the Troy-Cooperstown area of upstate New York.

THE BOOK AWARD

Benjamin Henry Latrobe by Talbot Hamlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955) received the annual award given by the Society to the book judged by the Committee to be the outstanding contribution to the literature of architectural history by an American author or on an American theme published during the calendar year just ended prior to the January meeting. The winning of the award carried with it the presentation of the Alice Davis Hitchcock medallion.

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